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SINA I,

K A D E S H,

AND

M O U N T H O R.



SINAI,
KADESH, AND MOUNT HOR;

OR,

A Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus.

WITH A MAP.

BY

HENRY CROSSLEY, Esq.

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THE following Essay appeared in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for the present month. A few copies have been taken off from the types of the Journal (with the consent of the Editor) for private circulation.

If the arguments of the Essay shall appear satisfactory, it is hoped, from the religious zeal which prevails in this country, that the question will be set finally at rest, by a complete and accurate investigation of that part of the Arabia Petræa which yet remains to be explored.

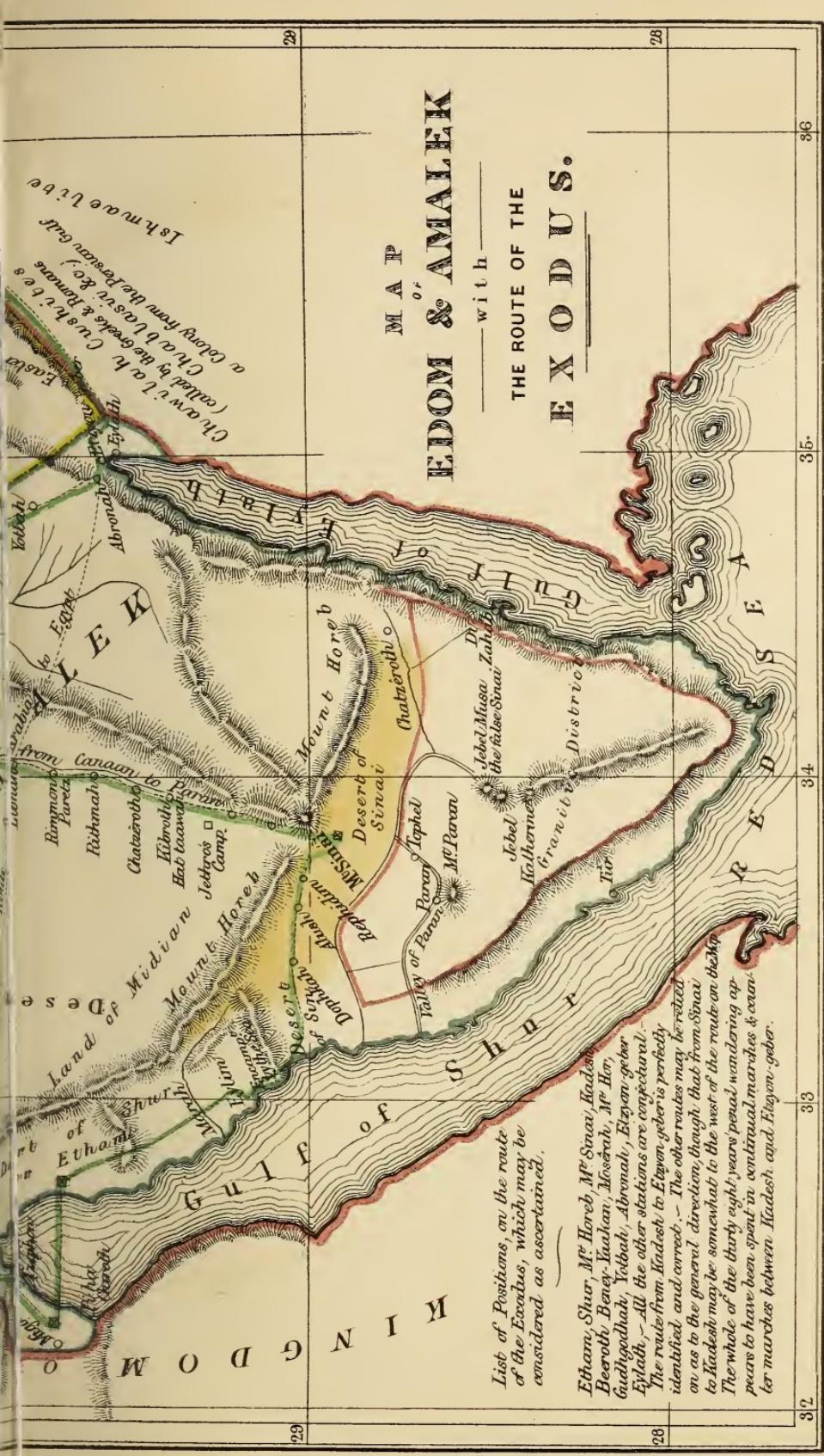
Perhaps no part of the globe offers so rich a field for Biblical discoveries, or is replete with so many interesting associations of great events in sacred history. But for any useful researches in this region, it is absolutely indispensable that the traveller should possess a knowledge both of the vulgar and classical Arabic, and a thorough acquaintance with the genius and ideas of the modern Arabs, and with their peculiar suspicions, and their tendency to invent such information as they imagine will be agreeable to the parties who journey under their care. A knowledge of all that the Greek and Latin writers have transmitted to us, respecting the history and geography of this country

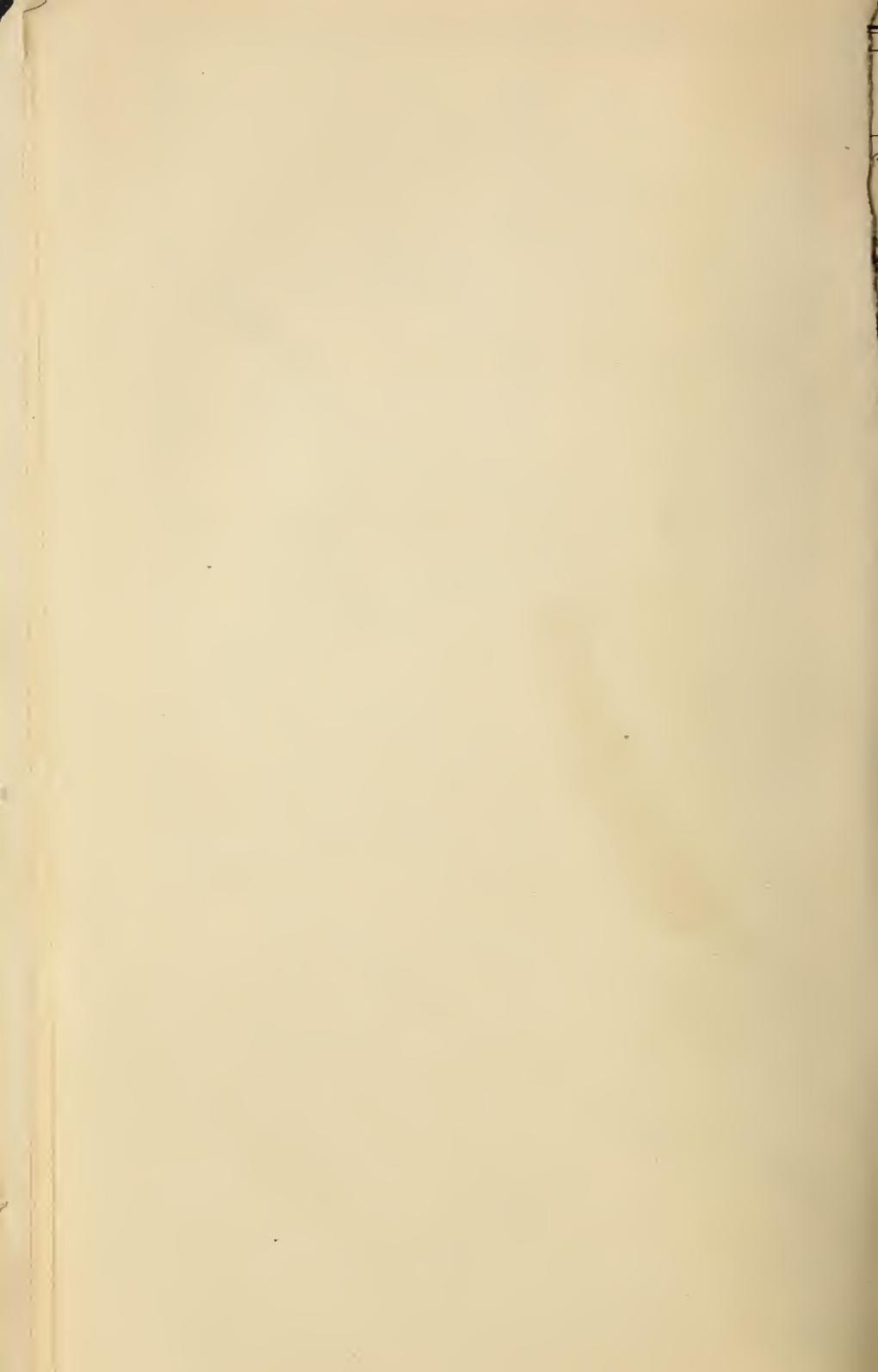
under the Nabathæans and Romans, will also be found of great utility. The person who travels without these preliminary studies, is much more likely to confuse the subject than to illustrate it.

HENRY CROSSLEY.

Lympstone, South Devon,
April 3rd, 1860.







SINAI, KADESH, AND MOUNT HOR;

OR,

A CRITICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

INTRODUCTION.

*"Ἐχω καλά τε φράσαι, τολμα τέ μοι
Εὐθεῖα γλῶσσαν ὄρυνει λέγειν.—Pind., Olymp. xiii.*

No two things can be more opposed than the popular view of the history and geography of the Exodus, and that which we might be induced to take on a careful and critical investigation of the subject. According to vulgar ideas, the Israelites were for forty years buried (as it were) from the view of the surrounding nations, in the depths of an uninhabited and inaccessible desert; from which they emerged, at the termination of their prolonged wandering, to astonish nations which before had scarcely heard of their existence. The very reverse of this appears to us to be the truth. The Sinaitic peninsula, and the whole country spreading northwards from thence, to the Mediterranean and the Canaanite border, (all of which we propose to designate by the general title of the NEGEV, or dry country,) was, as we hope to shew, divided at the era of the Exodus between two great nations,—Edom and Amalek,—populous, wealthy, commercial, and warlike; and which supplied, by means of the exchange of their merchandize, the deficiencies of the barren and inhospitable

region which they inhabited. An active traffic with India by sea was carried on from Tûr and Di-zahab, the two chief ports of Amalek; and land caravans from Sheba (the modern Yemen), from the Cushite nations on the Persian Gulf, and from Nineveh, were constantly crossing the routes of the Negeb in every direction. If the world had been searched for a peculiarly conspicuous position, in which to place the wandering nation for the long quarantine of their pilgrimage, it would have been impossible to have fixed on one better adapted for that purpose than the kingdom of Amalek, in which they remained about thirty-eight years.

The evidence in support of these opinions we propose to lay before the public, in a series of Essays. At present, by way of introduction to these historical investigations, we shall examine the geography of the Exodus, in the hope of throwing new light upon a subject which modern discoveries have hitherto rather darkened than illustrated.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that any important change has taken place in the topography of the Negeb, since the days of Moses. The mountains, the valleys, the plains, the deserts, still remain the same as at the Exodial period. No great convulsion of nature has disturbed the permanent features of the scenery. Cities may have decayed, cultivation decreased, groves vanished, wells and springs been filled and dried up; but the general outline of the landscape still remains the same as when the three millions of Israel encamped at the foot of Mount Sinai. We should naturally expect, under such circumstances, that all the leading stations of the Exodus—Mount Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor (all of them capable of being identified by so many *criteria*, casually mentioned in the history of Moses), should be easily discovered in the existing landscape. The actual topography of the peninsula ought to be the mirror and reflex of the Mosaic narrative. All that is wanting to render this history intelligible, ought to be supplied by the living features of the place. All these hopes, however, have hitherto been frustrated. The Exodus remains to the present day a riddle unsolved, for every effort to identify the route of the Hebrews has hitherto proved a failure. What a triumph for infidelity does this circumstance afford! How may the sceptic exult in evidence (apparently so decisive) that the truth of the Mosaic history is confuted by the indelible features of nature! We may imagine him raising his Pæans on this subject, and launching his sarcasms in something like the following terms:—

“ You require us to believe a history abounding in miracles, all contrary to the ordinary course of nature. At least, you

ought to shew us that the books in which these miracles are recorded have all the characteristics of a contemporary narrative. We must be convinced that Moses really wrote them, and really read them in the hearing of all the children of Israel. The whole tenor, however, of the four last books of the Pentateuch shews this supposition to be false. Compare the story with the scenes in which it is laid, and the one immediately confutes the other. After examining the whole peninsula, you have never been able yet to shew even one plausible representative of any of the great scenes of the miracles of Moses. Where is your Rephîdim? where water was brought out of the living rock; and where half a million of the Israelites and Amalekites were engaged in deadly combat. The monks of St. Catherine point it out in the Wady el-Leja, and Canon Stanley in the Wady Feiran, in both of which the supply of water is copious; and in both of which the space is so scanty that half a million of mice and frogs could scarcely have found room there for a Batrachomyomachia. Rephîdim was at the foot of Mount Horeb; and Sinai also was closely connected with Horeb, and is itself sometimes called Horeb. Where is the Horeb which connects your Sinai with your Rephîdim? As for the Sinai of the monks of St. Catherine, Lord Lindsay has shewn that it is impossible *that* could have been the true one. Canon Stanley removes the site to the front of the monkish Horeb, at the Ras Safsâfah. We willingly accept either the one or the other, for both are so admirably adapted for the purposes of imposture, that, if either of these were Mount Sinai, we know perfectly well what to think of Moses.

"The next great stations are Kadesh and Mount Hor. The Jewish rabbins placed Kadesh at Petra, twenty centuries ago; and fixed the site of Mount Hor (the burial place of Aaron) at a mountain near Petra, now called the Jebel Haroun by the ignorant Bedouins. Canon Stanley agrees with the rabbins, and adopts both these sites. We applaud him most earnestly, and are delighted to accept, at his hand, both these identifications. Both Petra and the Jebel Haroun are in the very heart of Edom; and Moses assures us that the Israelites never entered Edom (even for a foot's pace), nor could by any possibility have entered it. The slight impediments were a powerful army of Edomites, and the thunders of Jehovah—the former placed in impregnable positions, and the latter ready to be launched against them, if they had violated the Divine prohibition, to infringe in any way on the territories assigned by Jehovah to the children of Esau. Your admirable identifications, therefore, disprove the very foundation of the Mosaic narrative; and you have satisfactorily

shewn that it is impossible to reconcile the history of Moses with the enduring features of the scenery among which the events of the Exodus are laid. What is the inference? Simply that it is perfectly impossible that the Pentateuch could have been written by a contemporary pen. We see clearly that it is a work concocted at Babylon, during the captivity, by persons who knew nothing whatever of the geography of the Petraea, and whose ignorance is apparent in every page of their compilation. All the miracles, therefore, are defective in evidence, or rather they are the palpable inventions of a later age. You insult our judgment when you ask us to believe in the miracles of Moses, and produce in support of them this Babylonian record."

Such might be the objections of scepticism, and they are certainly not to be despised, at a time when the complaints of the clergy, and the testimony of the periodical literature of the day, attest a growing indifference on the part of the people to the religion of their forefathers, and this not merely in the pale of the Church, but also in the great sectarian bodies.

We are inclined to think that some part of this evil may be attributed to the *comparative* rarity, on the part of English theologians, of a critical and profound study of the books of the Old Testament. This has always been the battle-field of scepticism, which naturally chooses its own point of attack, and prefers the Old Testament for this purpose to the New. Now amongst the clergy the New Testament is naturally the favourite study; they are the expounders of the Christian religion, and it is not surprising that they should feel the greatest interest in that part of the Scriptures which contains the principles and doctrines of the religion of Christ. Not, of course, that they neglect the Old Testament; this is very far from being the case; but as a subject for profound and serious study (we apprehend) they prefer the evangelical history and the teaching of the apostles. The inconveniences of this, in other respects so laudable an arrangement, is that we desiderate in our literature such a thorough and complete removal of the difficulties of the Old Testament (the result of extensive and accurate Oriental learning, matured by long study, and applied and wielded by acute criticism, fervent zeal, and indefatigable patience), as would satisfy the doubts of the incipient sceptic, and arrest his progress in the first steps towards error; and would at the same time oppose an impregnable barrier to the attacks of infidelity when it becomes the assailant.

Those who can read the signs of the times with a learned spirit, may see reason to apprehend that the results will eventually be serious, if all the chosen objects of sceptical attack be

tacitly surrendered to them by our divines, in consequence of their pre-occupation in other studies, however excellent, however indispensable. In the hope of contributing, in some small degree, to check the imaginary triumphs of scepticism in the Old Testament, we propose to examine critically the geography of the Exodus; and adventure, as we best may, to remove the difficulties which have so long perplexed this entangled subject.

To turn the arms of infidelity against itself; to reconcile all that has hitherto been deemed antagonistic between history and localities; to shew that the accordance of the narrative with the scenery is such as could only have occurred on the supposition that the writer of the four last books of the Pentateuch was contemporary with the events he records; to prove that the actual topography is a better illustration of the geography of Moses than the scholia of a hundred commentators;—this may be a task far above our powers, but it is one which it is honourable to engage in, and in which even failure, after so many previous shipwrecks, may be readily excused. We hope, therefore, to carry with us the sympathy of our readers; and not the less so, because the introduction of a new and improved geographical system for the Exodus will be intimately connected with the exposure of two great frauds; one of which perverted the faith of the great mass of the Jewish nation in the time of our Saviour, and the other has thrown a lasting stigma on the very name of Christianity in the tents of the enemies of revealed religion.

The impostures to which we allude, are the great causes of the obscurity which at present prevails in the Exodial geography. The leading stations of the Exodus are Mount Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor. By a fraud of the Greek monks of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai has been identified with a locality in every respect unsuitable, and irreconcilable with the events which occurred there. A similar imposture of the Jewish rabbins had long before transferred Kadesh and Mount Hor to situations which (as we have before hinted) the Israelites never approached at any period of the Exodus. It is necessary to throw a rapid glance over these two impostures before we proceed in our geographical enquiries.

CHAP. I.—*The Rabbinical imposture respecting Kadesh and Mount Hor.*

The origin of the sects which existed among the Jews, after the return from the captivity, has been (as is well known) a

point much controverted ; and which many very learned men have laboured to elucidate, without being able to secure the general adoption of their opinions. In the existing uncertainty we may venture to propose our own solution of this much agitated question, as our principal subject renders it necessary that we should treat, somewhat at length, of the Jewish traditionists, so far at least as to shew, that they were a class habituated to imposture, perfectly unscrupulous in their frauds, who professed an extreme veneration for the tombs of the prophets ; and who placed the sites of those tombs, without regard to historical truth, wherever it suited their peculiar objects, and usually selected those sites best adapted for commercial fairs, which became the almost invariable accompaniment of the annual pilgrimages to these tombs.

When the edict of Cyrus gave to the Jews the privilege of returning to their native country and rebuilding the temple, of the whole Jewish nation only a small portion chose to return to Judæa. Out of the entire people, 42,360 only accompanied Zerubbabel ; out of the twenty-four courses of the priests, only four. The rest preferred the wealthy and luxurious province of Babylonia to the attempt to restore the ancient splendour of Judæa, amidst the difficulties and obstacles which they expected to encounter. Among these Babylonian Jews the great imposture of the traditions originated. It seems probable that the Jewish priests in Babylon, anxious to maintain their importance among the people, were the first inventors of the traditions. They assured the people that, at the time when the written law was communicated to Moses, it was accompanied by an oral commentary (infinitely more valuable than the written law itself), which, being too sublime and pure to be committed to writing, had been received traditionally by one generation from another, and of which they themselves were, at that period, the sole depositaries. The effect of the traditions was (as we learn from the divine authority of our Saviour) to render the law of Moses of no effect. It may be easily supposed, therefore, that the men who invented these traditions (knowing them to be false) were pure atheists, as were, in fact, the greatest part of the learned men in Babylon. Throughout the East (as in Egypt, where the people were sunk in the grossest idolatry) the priests of Polytheism were almost invariably atheists.

The doctors of the traditions invented a new religious discipline, in which the synagogue, or Beyth-knûshtha, was substituted for the temple, and the rabbi for the priest. The people greedily embraced the new religion, for it was really such ; they were delighted with the wonderful legends of the traditions ; and

the whole youth of the nation in Chaldæa was delivered up to the rabbins for instruction in this novel learning.

One great branch of the new superstition inculcated by the rabbins was a reverence for the tombs of the prophets of the nation, and of such of their doctors as were esteemed for their sanctity and learning. This new phase of superstition secured to the rabbins themselves the most important advantages. A yearly festival was held at the tombs of the greater prophets, continuing for a week or ten days, at which the congregation of people was immense, and to which merchants collected from all parts, so as to convert these great festivals into annual fairs. The traditionist doctors cared very little whether the site which they selected, as containing the bones of any prophet or learned man, was genuine or not. They chose almost invariably the situation most convenient for commercial purposes; and thus transferred the tomb of Ezekiel from the banks of the Chabour (or Kebar) to a site at a convenient distance from Babylon, on the west of the Euphrates. At these great meetings, the doctors of the traditions were the admired of all admirers, and probably received large presents from the richer votaries. They had, therefore, no small interest in preserving this superstition.

When the imposture of the traditions was firmly rooted in Chaldæa, the most influential of the rabbins deemed it advisable to spread the new faith in Judæa. Here they had to encounter a violent opposition. The priests and Levites (of whose morals at that period we have a repulsive picture in the prophecy of Malachi), saw in the new doctrine an encroachment most adverse to their own interests. If the traditional law were introduced into Judæa the synagogue would become the rival of the temple, and the rabbi of the priest. The new religion might eventually subvert the old, as it actually did in the result; for of the Jews of the present day a very small portion adhere to the pure religion of Moses. The priests and Levites opposed, therefore, with the utmost vigour, the stealthy progress of the doctors of the traditions in the land of Judæa. They appear to have bestowed upon the new sect the name of Chasdîm (חסדים), or Chaldaeans, as a term indicating their foreign and barbarous origin. This the traditionists exchanged to Chasidîm (חסידי) or *Pious*; for the figure Paronomasia (or play upon words) was, at all times, a favourite mode of speech among the Orientals, and is used frequently by the Jewish prophets as being agreeable to the people, and possessed of a certain degree of utility in impressing any sentence with peculiar force. In religious disputes it was a weapon in much use and in high esteem.

The traditionists, on their part, were not slow in retorting

abuse. With the usual confidence of imposture they applied to the orthodox Jews the name of *Sedîkin* (סְדִיקִים) *schismatics or heretics*, which they (adopting the tactics of their adversaries), converted into *Tzaddîkin* (צָדִיקִים) *Just, or Righteous*. The Hebrew *רַבִּים* is, in the Syro-Chaldaic, *رَبِّيْنِ*, or (in the emphatic state), *رَبِّيْنِيْ*; and from this last word is formed *رَبِّيْنِيْ* or *رَبِّيْنِيْنِ*, a Sadducee, *Σαδδουκαῖος*. The Sadducees were really the orthodox sect of the Jews, though the followers of a triumphant imposture contrived to brand them with the name of schismatics. When the Persian monarchy was destroyed by Alexander, the orthodox Jews exchanged the old name of Chaldæans, which they had previously applied to the traditionists, for that of Persians, or *پُرْسَه*; for the old hatred to the Chaldæans was nearly obsolete, and they could now safely use the name of Persians as a term of reproach. Thus, at a later period, they applied the name of Idumæans (as that of the people in the world whom they hated most) to the Romans, and under this fictitious name safely lavished upon their domineering masters all the venom of their abuse. Again, at a later period, when Christianity became the religion of the Roman empire, they applied the title of Idumæans to the Christians.

The opprobrious name of Persians gained a new title for the sect of the Chasîdim, who (still playing upon the malice of their enemies), converted this term of contempt into the title of *لَعَّيْدَة* (Pharisees), or persons who, from superior religious purity, have abstracted, or separated themselves from the profane vulgar. Such seems to have been the true origin of the Jewish sects, whose genealogy appears to be fairly indicated in the table on the next page.

In some modern writers we observe the Chasîdim and Pharisees spoken of as the orthodox sects of the Jews, and the Sadducees as sectaries. Nothing can be further from the truth. The Pharisees did (it is true), teach the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which the Sadducees denied; but the Pharisaic doctrine of a future life was not such as a Christian could admit; and, with respect to the Sadducees, as Moses had never directly inculcated the doctrine of a future state, they could not justly be branded with the opprobrious name of sectaries, for not believing in that which the law had not directly inculcated. As to the Pharisees, it is impossible to hold that a sect which our Saviour rarely mentions, except as hypocrites and a generation of vipers, and whose doctrines he declares subversive of the

law, could justly claim the title of orthodox. The truth is, a believer in the traditional law has no more claim to be deemed a follower of Moses, than a Mohammedan could pretend to the title of a Christian. The modern Talmudic Jews appear to have no more connexion with Moses, than a Mohammedan with Christ.

ORTHODOX FOLLOWERS OF MOSES.		HERETICAL SCHISMATICS OF THE TRADITIONAL LAW.		Paronomasiac titles adopted by themselves.		Terms of reproach applied to them by the orthodox Jews.		Paronomasiac titles adopted by themselves.	
שָׁבֵת	Schismatics or Heretics.	מְרִיאָה or לְוַיִּה	Just or Righteous. From whence לְוַיִּה or לְוַיִּה	Chaldeans. Persians. Sadducees.	נָבָרִים לְוַיִּה or לְוַיִּה	Chaldeans. Persians. Sadducees.	נָבָרִים לְוַיִּה or לְוַיִּה	פָּious. Separatists from the Profane; or Pharisees.	Paronomasiac titles adopted by themselves.
The modern representatives of the orthodox followers of Moses are the Karaite Jews.		The modern representatives of these heretics are the Talmudic Jews, whose relation to the religion of Moses is precisely that of the Mohammedans to the religion of Christ.							

Absurd as the doctrines of the Chasidim were, they found at once a ready acceptance with the Jewish people. The outward devotion of the Pharisees attracted the mob; their wild and ex-

travagant legends suited the Oriental taste; and they, by degrees, acquired such influence, that the very priests, who hated them, were eventually compelled to come over to their party.

When the traditionists had acquired a secure footing in Judæa, they began to look out for the tombs of the prophets, that this, their favourite engine of imposture, might not be wanting in Judæa. The two greatest names of the race of Israel were Moses and his brother, the first high priest. The tomb of Moses was declared by the Scriptures themselves to be unknown to any man; that of Aaron, on the other hand, was well known to be on the summit of Mount Hor.

But while the Jews were in exile in Chaldæa, during the seventy years' captivity, great changes had taken place in the countries formerly belonging to Edom and Amalek. While Judæa had been left waste and its cities were empty, the Edomites had entered upon the vacant territory, and occupied nearly the whole southern half of Judæa, extending their encroachments as far north as the city of Hebron, in the south highlands, and that of Beyth-gabra (afterwards Eleutheropolis), in the Shephelah, or lowlands. It is possible that this emigration was compulsory, for at the same time the Nabathæan Arabs (the Ishmaelites of the race of Nebaioth), seized on the greater part of ancient Edom and nearly the whole of ancient Amalek, and founded a powerful kingdom, of which Petra (the ancient Botzrah, also called Sela'), became the capital.

Notwithstanding some modern opinions to the contrary, the ancient kingdom of Edom consisted not only of the long range of mountains to the east of the Wady 'Arabah (which we shall term the Eastern Mount Se'yr), but also of that mountainous range of limestone formation which lies on the north-west of the Arabah, and extends southward to the Jebel Araif-en-Nakah. This western range we shall term the Western Mount Se'yr. After the Nabathæan conquests or encroachments, the Edomites retained only the western Mount Se'yr; and even of this they afterwards appear to have lost some portion. These changes had thrown some obscurity over the geography of Edom and Amalek, when the Jews returned from Babylonia.

The true site of Kadesh (as we shall clearly prove in the sequel), was at a place now called El-Khalesah (the *'Ελονσα* of the Macedonians and Elusa of the Romans), which lies about fifteen miles to the south of the ancient Canaanite border. Mount Hor may be safely identified with Jebel 'Araif-en-Nakah, a lofty conical mountain at the south-west corner of the kingdom of Edom, and between sixty and seventy miles to the south of El-Khalesah. Unfortunately, therefore, for the designs of the

rabbins, the true Mount Hor was in the territory still possessed by the children of Esau, and Kadesh was in that which they had recently acquired.

Of all the people in the universe the race most detested by the Jews were the Idumæans. They were declared by the prophets to be a nation against whom the Lord had a perpetual indignation,—the people of his curse. That part of their territory which was within the ancient limits of Judæa, was called "*the wicked border.*" A pilgrimage to the true Mount Hor would have been to a genuine Jew at once hateful and perilous. This difficulty would have caused ordinary men to hesitate; to the doctors of the traditions it appeared no obstacle whatever. They could easily have discovered Kadesh if they had pleased, and this would have guided them to Mount Hor. Kadesh, it is true, had changed its name (since it belonged to the Idumæans) to Alusa, but the desert around it was still called the desert of Kadesh, and retained this name till the days of Constantine. But they had no wish to discover Mount Hor in Idumæa, and therefore, by one of those bold impostures which any one acquainted with the Talmud will know to have been as familiar to them as the air which they breathed, they decided that Petra, then the capital of the Nabathæans, should and ought to be Kadesh; and that a mountain in the immediate neighbourhood of that city was the true Mount Hor!

It is true that Petra and the pretended Mount Hor were in the centre of the eastern Mount Se'yr, which was the chief portion of ancient Edom. It is equally true (as has before been observed), that the Israelites were forbidden by Jehovah to set a single footprint in Edomite soil; and the king of Edom with a large army watched their march, to prevent such aggression; so that without a miracle, worked by the power of evil, in direct opposition to the will of Jehovah, it was impossible that Petra should be Kadesh, or the pretended Mount Hor the real one. These, however, were points very little known to the Jews of the Macedonian era; they saw Petra in possession of the Nabathæans, and had not sufficient learning even to suspect that it had ever been otherwise. There was, therefore, little danger in this strange identification; and it presented a most important advantage. The Nabathæans were a friendly people; Petra, their capital, was the greatest dépôt of Oriental commerce in the west of the Euphrates, and, by holding their religious pilgrimages to the tomb of Aaron at the same time with the great annual fairs of the Nabathæans, they might combine all the attractions of worldly commerce with the agreeable consciousness of the strict performance of a religious duty.

It is remarkable that the Jews of the time of our Saviour (discarding the ancient names of Botzrah, Sela', and Yoktheel, which would not have suited the rabbinical imposture), always called Petra, Rekem, (رِقَم; in the Arabic translation, رِقْم). This does not appear to have been the Nabathæan name; and we may suspect that it was a corruption of the Arabic رُحْم, *a cairn or tomb*; for the Nabathæans, like the modern Egyptians, pronounced the *ت* hard, like our *g* in *gild*. The first enquiry of the Jewish pilgrims was apparently for the *tomb*, which the Nabathæans called *Regem*; and thus the city of Petra itself, in Jewish parlance, acquired this name, slightly corrupted and softened into *Rekem*.

Josephus (himself a Pharisee), naturally adopted the Pharisaic tradition; and hence he makes the Israelites to encamp at Petra (*for he never mentions the name of Kadesh*), and informs us that Aaron was buried in a mountain near that city. But Josephus also assures us that Petra, in the time of Moses, was the capital of the Amalekites. From this we may judge what degree of confidence we ought to place in this writer. It can be proved by demonstration, that the whole of the eastern Mount Se'yr was part of Edom at the time of the Exodus, and that the Amalekites possessed no portion of this region.

Eusebius, Jerome, and others of the earlier Christian writers, naturally borrowed their scriptural geography of the Old Testament from the Jews, which led them, unfortunately, into numerous errors and self-contradictions.

When Christianity expelled Paganism from the Peträa, the city of Petra became the seat of a Christian bishopric; and the Christians of Petra adopted, without hesitation or enquiry, the Pharisaic tradition as to the site of Mount Hor. Never was there an imposture more extravagant than this of the rabbins respecting Kadesh and Mount Hor; rarely has an imposture been more successful. The traditionists were not satisfied with identifying the two principal sites, they planted round them a host of minor sites, all equally false. The desert of Tzin was assumed to be the pleasant valley now called the Wâdy Musa; the waters of Meribah-Kadesh were shewn in the spring now known as the 'Ain Musa; and the first crusaders, in a rapid expedition made into Idumæa, in the year 1100, *watered their horses*, with great devotion, at the sacred spring. The *Beeroth Beney Ya'akan* was pointed out at some spot about ten miles from Petra, and "which was on the borders of Moab, was transferred to the immediate vicinity of Petra, and called *Fal*

by the Greeks. What is most singular is, that while Eusebius and Jerome adopt the rabbinical impostures, they admit (contrary to the rabbins) that Petra (otherwise called Rekem), was in the land of Edom, or Idumæa, the country of Esau, in *their* days called Gebalene; and that the latter name (Hellenized from the Arabic جبال), was only another name for Mount Se'yr. So gross was the fallacy of the rabbinical imposture, that these strange topographers actually conducted the Israelites to Kadesh *from the east* (by the Wâdy Musa and the Syk), and from thence westward to the false Mount Hor, though this was leading them away from Moab and the Arnon, the true direction of their march, by a long, unintelligible, and most needless circuit. Yet modern travellers and Biblical critics, who all conduct the Israelites to the false Mount Hor *from the west*, by the Wâdy Haroun (a day's journey through the very heart of Edom), have not perceived that the only foundation for this theory is a wild tradition, which conducts the three millions in the directly contrary direction. And for such absurdities as these they are content to reject and trample under foot the plain words of Moses, who assures us that the Israelites were prevented by a hostile army, and the interdiction of God, from passing, by a single foot-pace, any part of the boundaries of Edom.

The tradition thus readily accepted by the Christians, was transmitted by them to the Mohammedans. When the Arabs became masters of Syria, the Peträa and Egypt, that people, who (as taught by their prophet) revered both Moses and Aaron as much as the Jews themselves, received this false tradition of the site of Mount Hor from the unanimous testimony of Jews and Christians; and the deceived Moslemin, even to this day, deem it a pious act of devotion to sacrifice a sheep or a goat at the tomb of Aaron, a rite which they certainly learnt from the Jewish traditionists.

In this manner a legend, commencing in imposture, has descended from the era of the Asmonæans to our own times; but from the earliest commencement of the tradition to the time of Moses, there is a gap of, at least, eleven centuries; and during the latter part of this period, the Jewish nation, long at war with Edom, then exiled at Babylon, and afterwards on the very worst terms with their old enemies the children of Esau, and excluded from Idumæa in the Negeb, had, amidst the revolution of the neighbouring states, the alteration of boundaries, and the change of local names, certainly lost all knowledge of the true Mount Hor of the Mosaic period.

That the mountain now called the Jebel Haroun (or moun-

tain of Aaron), near Petra, is *not* the true Mount Hor, is perfectly certain; because the Israelites (in every way precluded from entering Edom) could not have marched for a day's journey into the very heart of the country, encamped in or near *that* city which, from its peculiar and unrivalled advantages of situation, has in all ages (under the various names of Botzrah, Sela', Yoktheel, Rekem and Petra), been the capital of the land of Se'yr; and buried their high priest (the brother of their leader) on the summit of a mountain, the most conspicuous object from the rocks, which rise above the hollow basin of Petra. All this is false and impossible, though this is now, from a series of strange delusions, *the universal creed* of all modern writers who have visited, or in any way treated of Mount Hor. That the true Kadesh was on or near the site of El-Khalesah, and that the true Mount Hor is identical with the Jebel 'Araif-en-Nakah, shall, by irrefragable arguments, be made perfectly clear as we proceed.

CHAPTER II.—*The Imposture of the Greek Monks with respect to Mount Sinai.*

The tradition that the mountain at present called the Jebel Musa, or mountain of Moses, was the real Mount Sinai, originated with, and has been preserved by, a body of Greek monks, whose monastery, that of St. Catherine, is at the foot of a rocky mountain, which they call Mount Horeb, and from whose summit the pretended Mount Sinai rises up, as one mountain piled upon another. The earliest period to which the tradition can be traced is the time of the Emperor Constantine. The monastic life had just been introduced into the Peträea by Hilarion, a pupil of St. Anthony; and the life of Hilarion (as written by St. Jerome) is a curious and instructive record of the gross abuses introduced into Christianity at this early period. According to St. Jerome, the miracles performed by Hilarion equalled any performed by the apostles. They were, however, notwithstanding the miraculous power displayed in them, not a little ridiculous by the circumstances attending them. On the decease of the saint, his tomb still performed miracles, and a godly man of the name of Hesychius undertook to steal his bones at the risk of his life. This theft seems highly approved of by St. Jerome, who, however, pathetically observes, that the desecrated tomb still continued to perform as many or even greater miracles than the actual relics of the saint, when removed from Cyprus to Palestine. Such was the school in which the monks

of the Petraea were trained ; for monachism, in this region, certainly owed its birth and extension to Hilarion. A body of his pupils settled in the narrow ravine now called the Wady Shoaih, at the foot of the mountains to which they afterwards gave the names of Horeb and Sinai. This happened at a time when the whole Christian world in Syria was occupied in the gainful trade of discovering false sites of great religious events.

In the year 326 the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, landed in Palestine to visit Jerusalem. She was a very old, and probably a very ill-educated woman, as she was the daughter of an innkeeper in the petty town of Drepanum, in Bithynia, on the shores of the Propontis. She was, however, sincerely pious, exceedingly wealthy, and supported in all her religious views by her son, who, little to be praised as a husband or a father, seems, if we may judge from history, to have been a model of filial duty. When the empress entered Jerusalem, no one knew even the site of the crucifixion. It was not very likely that they should, as the very site of Jerusalem had been ploughed up by the orders of Hadrian. No person in Jerusalem, or in any part of Palestine, appears to have troubled himself about the sacred sites. An universal ignorance seems to have prevailed through Palestine. But the visit of the empress changed everything. Gold was poured out lavishly to the discoverers of sacred places, and as soon as the trade in localities and relics became gainful, universal Palestine teemed with discoveries. The people now found that they knew by intuition every spot ever mentioned in Scripture ; and every child could now point out the place *where St. Peter went out and wept bitterly*, in that very city where, a few months before, no one knew or even suspected the true site of the sepulchre of Christ !

It was exactly at this time, when the discovery of false sites was the common trade of Palestine, that the monks of the Wady Shoaih, according to their own account, petitioned to the empress for funds to erect a chapel, in honour of the *burning bush*, which they affirmed to be near their retreat. The very name savours of imposture ; for, supposing that any tradition of the true Mount Sinai had survived to their time (which it certainly had *not*), still it is very unlikely, nay, contrary to all conjectural probability, that the exact position of the bush in which Jehovah appeared to Moses would have been preserved by local tradition. The petition, however, was granted, and the chapel was built. In the year 562 Justinian erected for them, at their request, a fortified convent ; and they shortly after this discovered (as they affirmed), by a revelation to one of the monks in a dream, the body of a pretended martyr (to whom they gave the

name of St. Catherine), on the summit of a neighbouring mountain, to which it had been conveyed by angels three hundred years before, from the city of Alexandria, where the martyrdom took place. This stamps the character of the monks with the fatal brand of imposture. Their whole subsequent conduct has been one continued series of similar impositions, so palpable, so extravagant, and in some instances so unblushingly avowed by themselves, that it may be questioned whether, among the genus monk, any species like the monks of St. Catherine ever existed to degrade the Christian religion by their abominable fabrications.

It will be seen, therefore, that the tradition preserved by the monks of St. Catherine, wants every element which could give it authenticity. Its commencement was at a time when these impostures were the universal occupation of the Greek monks and clergy of Palestine and the surrounding countries; and the corporate body, which has preserved the pretended tradition, has been disgraced by every imposture which can throw a scandal on the very name of religion.

The Sinai of the monks of St. Catherine has not even the very dubious honour of being the sole Sinai of monkish tradition. According to the abundant power claimed by the Romish Church, it not unfrequently happens that the complete relics of some eminent saint are possessed (if we choose to believe the infallibility of monachism), in their entire totality, by each of five or six different convents at the same time. So in the Negeb, there appear to have been, at least, two monasteries, those of the city of Paran and of St. Catherine, each of which claimed, in the early period of monachism, its own true and indisputable Mount Sinai.

The Sinai of Paran (the modern Mount Serbal, which was really the Mount Paran of Scripture) is supposed, as being near the chief city in the peninsula, which was also the seat of a bishopric, to have been the more popular Sinai, as long as Paran maintained its importance. But after the conquests of the Arabs, the city fell into ruin; while the fortified monastery, by the most infamous and incredibly base subservience to the conquerors, (for its monks forged a charter of security, purporting to be granted by Mohammed, and built a Mohammedan mosque within their outer walls, side by side with the church of the transfiguration,

“Shouldering God’s altar, a vile image stands:”)

by these vile observances the monastery of St. Catherine contrived to maintain itself in the general ruin. To please the Moslem, they actually chiselled out a hole in the solid rock (on

that mountain which they pretended to consider as sacred to Jehovah), and shewed it to the world as the print of one of the feet of Mohammed's camels; and this impious fraud they unblushingly avowed to the Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, when he visited their convent in 1722. Thus it was that the monks of St. Catherine acquired the monopoly of forgery for the site of Mount Sinai; and that the Jebel Musa, for some centuries, maintained its importance. When it once became established in solitary dignity, it long passed current with travellers of all sorts, learned and illiterate. Even men at once erudite and sagacious, like Dr. Thomas Shaw, swallowed the imposture; and regarded with unfeigned reverence the monkish sites of Rephîdim and the rock of Merîbah, both of which assume an impossibility, and openly set common sense at defiance.

It was not till the present century that the world began to awake to the palpable imposture of the monkish Sinai. When doubts once began to be suggested, they rapidly accumulated: Lord Lindsay, by the most convincing arguments, has shewn it to be impossible that the monkish mountain should be the real Sinai. A popular modern writer, in a very interesting work, has suggested the substitution of the Ras Safsâfah (a promontory in front of the monkish Horeb) as the real Sinai. This removes one objection, but increases the force of others. But it is needless to attempt any serious confutation of this opinion; since we hope to shew, beyond the power of reasonable dispute, that the true Mount Sinai is in a very different position.

Even since the Jebel Musa has been marked with the brand of suspicion, nay, since its pretensions have been triumphantly refuted, the wild majesty and solemn horror of the surrounding scenery (not to mention the convenience of comfortable quarters at the monastery of St. Catherine, and the curious history, and Byzantine architecture, of that convent) have excited the interest of a numerous class of visitors. One of the quaintest of these has bestowed upon the grotesque mountains of the Granitic region, the fanciful appellation of "the Alps unclothed;" and with equal felicity has compared the *cul de sac* of the Wady Shoail to the "end of the world." These strange epithets have been religiously echoed by succeeding travellers; and the tourist, who only wanders for amusement, repeats the sentiment of Gray,—

"Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga
Clivosque præruptos ;"

and indulges in the enthusiasm of the moment, without caring

much whether the ancient associations by which his momentary raptures are prompted be genuine or not.

To the deist and atheist the Mount Sinai of the monks has still stronger recommendations. If the whole universe were to be searched for the appropriate scene of a great religious imposture, the probabilities appear a million to one that none could be found so exquisitely adapted for the purpose as the Sinai of the monks of St. Catherine. If (to avoid *one* fatal objection) we suppose the Ras Safsâfah to be the true Mount Sinai, in spite of evidence which appears decisive to the contrary, the aptitude of the site for the purposes of deception is still further increased. Here all the miraculous events of the great day of the covenant might have been so dramatically represented by a skilful impostor, educated in the arts of the Egyptian priesthood, as to be received with undoubting acquiescence as real miracles by an ignorant and credulous multitude, already awed and confounded by the wild horrors of the surrounding scenery. Hence it is important to the cause of true religion, to prove that the Sinai of the monks, and those sites selected in its neighbourhood by modern travellers, have no pretensions whatever to the lofty title which is claimed for them ; and, indeed, independent of all the other objections (which are numerous and insurmountable) we may assume it as a certain rule that no great miracle would ever be performed on a site, or under circumstances, which laid it open to the suspicion of imposture ; since, in such a case, all the great objects of a miracle would be destroyed.

Since doubts have been thrown on the monkish imposture, all the other mountains of the Granitic district have successively been examined to discover the true Mount Sinai ; but, in no case has a fit representative for the Mosaic mountain been pointed out. The claims of Mount Serbal have again come under consideration ; but independently of the certain fact that this mountain is the Paran, and not the Sinai of the Scriptures, the total want of any proper encamping ground at its base has been found a sufficient reason for its general rejection. It is easy to point out the true reason why all search has hitherto been disappointed ;—it has been invariably made in the Granitic region, which contains all the loftiest mountains of the peninsula. But it can be satisfactory shewn, that no very lofty mountain would agree with the circumstances of the Mosaic narrative ; and we think we shall be able to prove that the great body of the Israelites never even entered that region at all.

CHAP. III.—Mount Sinai.

Having endeavoured, in the two preceding chapters, to shew that the two traditions respecting Mount Sinai and Mount Hor (which have done so much to disturb the true geography of the Exodus) are both the impudent and irrational forgeries of interested fraud, we shall now proceed to search for the true sites of the three great stations of the Exodus,—Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor. We shall commence with Mount Sinai; but, before approaching the subject, we must examine the important question of the actual numbers of the people of Israel, because this affects every stage of our enquiry.

I. At the census taken during the encampment at Mount Sinai, the total number of all the males of the military tribes, (exclusive of the tribe of Levi,) who were of the age of twenty years and upwards, was found to be 603,550. According to this census, the total number of the whole nation, including the Levites, the women, and the children, must have been from two millions and a half to three millions. Some writers have considered these numbers as incredible, and have suspected that the Jewish copyists have tampered with the original text of the Pentateuch, to increase the historical importance of their nation. Several reasons are alleged by Dean Milman, in his *History of the Jews*, for doubting the accuracy of the vulgar Hebrew text, all of which appear to us to admit of an easy and satisfactory reply. But it appears needless to enter upon the discussion, because it seems to have been admitted by the person, of all others, least likely to be suspected of exaggeration, that the numbers of the Israelites were to be computed by millions, and not by thousands, as the Dean would prefer. The Pharaoh who reigned at the time of the birth of Moses, alarmed on observing that “the children of Israel increased abundantly, and waxed exceeding mighty, and that *the land was filled by them*,” called a council of his people, and drew their special attention to the dangerous increase of the Nomade people: “And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel *are more and mightier than we.*” If we consider the pride of the Pharaohs and the conceit of the Egyptians, we may feel very certain that the nation which this Pharaoh declares to be more in number and mightier than his own people, could not have had a population of less than three millions.

Ewald, in his *History*, appears satisfied as to the actual numbers of the Hebrew text; and Canon Stanley agrees on this point with the German writer. We shall assume, therefore, the num-

bers of the whole Israelitic nation to have been about three millions; a point of peculiar importance in our future enquiries.

They took with them, as Moses informs us, very much cattle; and they were also accompanied by a mixed multitude called the Asaphsuph (אָסָף שׁוּפֵחַ, Numb. xi. 4, called also נְגָדִים, Exod. xii. 38), who appear to have been the children of Hebrew women by Egyptian fathers, like the son of the Danite woman Shelemith, mentioned Levit. xxiv. 10. Whoever, therefore, speculates on the route of the Exodus, should always bear in mind the vast multitudes of which the expedition was composed, and the incumbrance of the women, and children, and cattle. An average day's journey could rarely have exceeded ten miles, and the line of march must frequently have been of enormous extent. The encampments, which were in the form of a square when circumstances admitted, might, when there was ample space to consult health and comfort, have extended forty miles in circuit, or ten miles on each of the four sides.

II. The *general direction* of the route, after the passage of the Red Sea, as far as the desert of Sin, is perfectly well known. The encampment by the Red Sea, mentioned in Numb. xxxiii. 10, removes all difficulty on this point. The sites of the particular stations will perhaps always remain a subject of dispute; but as long as we are certain of the line of route, the minutiae are not of particular importance. The wilderness of Sin may be identified with considerable probability with a plain now called the plain of Murkhah. From hence all writers on the subject of the Exodus have conducted the wanderers into the Granitic region of the peninsula.

The southern corner of the Sinaitic peninsula is a region of granite rocks, intersected by numerous *wadys* or ravines, which form the only means of communication from one part to another of this Alpine district. Considering the vast numbers of the Hebrews, and the attendant Asaphsuph, and the incumbrance of the cattle, it seems impossible that they could ever have entered these narrow and rugged ravines. We shall seek, therefore, a new course for their march, and it is not difficult to find a more probable one. To the east of the plain of Murkhah commences a long and comparatively narrow desert of sand, which forms a species of belt almost across the whole breadth of the peninsula; it may be about seventy miles in length by about twelve in average breadth. It is almost the only desert of *sand* in the whole peninsula. It is level, and in other respects convenient for a march. The modern name of this desert is the Debbet er-Ramleh. On the north of this desert, and running parallel with it, is a long range of low mountains of extremely uniform out-

line; which, like the *Debbet er-Ramleh*, crosses nearly the whole of the peninsula, and whose Arabic name is the *Jebel et-Tih*. In the mid-length of this range is a lofty mountain, rising pre-eminent above the rest of the chain, which is now called the *Jebel el-Ojmah*. On the south side of the sandy desert are the northern mountains of the Granitic region. Suppose then that we assume tentatively that the long and low range of the *Jebel et-Tih* was the Mount Horeb of Moses, that the lofty mountain in the midst of the range was Mount Sinai,—and that the desert of Sinai formed the eastern half of the *Debbet er-Ramleh*:—let us see how far these suppositions will agree with the Mosaic narrative of the Exodus.

III. It should be observed that to the north of the *Jebel et-Tih* is a very extensive desert of limestone formation, now called *et-Tih*, which reaches as far north as the southern border of ancient Canaan. There can be no doubt whatever, that the desert of the *Tih* was, in the time of Moses, called the *Midbar Paran*, or desert of Paran. In this desert, and about one or two days' journey to the north-west of our supposed Mount Sinai, we will place a colony of Kenite Midianites; of one of whose encampments Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was priest. The Midianites were a wide-spreading nation, usually found intermixed with the Ishmaelite tribes to the east of the three kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon. They were for the most part a Nomade people, but there was one colony with which Moses has made us familiar, which had settled in fixed habitations to the north of the Arnon, where it possessed five cities, each governed by its own king, though these kings were really subjects of the king of Heshbon, their suzerain and lord.

There is not the slightest authority, however, for placing any part of the Midianite nation to the east of the Gulf of Eylath at the time of the Exodus. This is one of the absurdities of the rabbinical geography which the Mohammedan Arabs have contrived to borrow from the Arabian Jews. That Jethro's Kenites were encamped in the desert of Paran there can be no reasonable doubt. When David had conquered Edom, Hadad, a youth of the blood-royal of Edom, was carried by his father's servants to Paran in the Sinaitic peninsula. They stopped for a time at Midian, and then proceeded to Paran (1 Kings xi. 14—18). Now, in the position in which we have placed the Midian of Jethro, it would be exactly in the road from Edom to Paran. So when Saul made war against the Nomade Amalekites, who inhabited the whole breadth of the peninsula, from Shur (Suez) to Chawilah (a colony of the Cushite Chawilans settled near Eylath in the Arabian desert), he found the Kenites intermixed

with the Amalekites, and advised them to remove, that they might not be included in the slaughter of the latter. The reason alleged by the king for this act of mercy was, "For ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt." This evidently relates to the Midianites of Jethro's clan. We seem, therefore, justified in placing the encampment of Jethro to the north of our Mount Horeb; and we shall see in the sequel, how well this position agrees with the Mosaic history.

IV. But we must carry the scrutiny of the position we have fixed upon to a period long antecedent to the date of the Exodus. Before the time of Moses, Horeb was called the "*Mount of God*:" it had an ancient celebrity as a place of peculiar sanctity. Though Horeb is here mentioned in general terms, and the name of the Mount of God seems to have been given to the whole of the range, yet the place regarded as the chief seat of sanctity seems clearly to have been Mount Sinai; and as, according to our system of positions, Mount Sinai was part of the Horeb chain, the name of Horeb might very well have been given to Mount Sinai. It will be observed that in the original text the words used for the Mount of God are סִינָי רַبְּרַבְּ, the Mount of *the* God. The definite article placed before the name of God, indicates in Hebrew that the God spoken of is Jehovah himself, in opposition to the idol-deities of Polytheism. The same idiom is observed in the Arabic. It was then *Jehovah* himself, who in times anterior to the residence of Moses in Midian had been worshipped upon Mount Sinai by a believing people.

We purpose to shew in a separate dissertation, "On the origin of the Phœnicians," that it was this people (who some centuries before the time of Moses inhabited the Sinaitic peninsula) by whom Jehovah was adored upon Mount Sinai; and that a distinct allusion to this ancient sanctity, attached to the mountain in the Phœnician times, is to be found in the prophecy of Ezekiel respecting Tyre (chap. xxviii. 11—19). Of this important and most interesting prophecy, we venture with diffidence to offer the following as an attempt towards a new and improved translation.

"PROPHECY AGAINST TYRE.—PART IV.

"And the word of Jehovah came to me, saying, Son of man, raise the funeral lament over the king of Tyre; and thou shalt say to him, Thus saith Jehovah, my Lord :

I.

Thou art the seal of the exact sum,
Full of wisdom, and perfect of beauty.
In Eden, that delightful garden, hast thou dwelt,
Every precious jewel adorned thy canopy,
The sardius, the topaz, and the diamond,
The chrysolite, the sardonyx, and the jasper,
The sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold.
The minstrelsy of thy tabrets and thy pipes
Was prepared for thee at the day thou wert created.
Thou wert the anointed and guardian cherub ; and [it was] I [who] placed
thee :
On the holy hill of God didst thou dwell ;
In the midst of the rocks of fire didst thou walk.
Perfect wert thou in thy ways from the day thou wert created,
Until by reason of thy vast traffic
Iniquity was found in thee.
[Thy sons] filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou sinnedst ;
And I cast thee as profane from the mount of God ;
And I dispersed thee, thou guardian cherub,
From the midst of the rocks of fire.

II.

[And since again] thou wert lifted up on account of thy beauty ;
[And enamoured] of thy splendour thou hast corrupted thy wisdom :
Upon the earth have I cast thee, before kings have I placed thee ;
That thou mayest become a gazing-stock ;
By the multitude of thy crimes, by the iniquity of thy traffic,
Thou hast profaned [even] thy [idolatrous] sanctuaries ;
And I will bring forth fire from the midst of thee, which shall devour thee
And I will reduce thee to ashes, upon the earth,
Before the eyes of every gazer on ;
And those who knew thee among the nations shall be stupefied over thee :
Thou shalt be an object of astonishment, and never again shall thou exist."

It has been usually supposed that this prophecy was addressed to some actual king of Tyre. This we believe to be perfectly impossible. Tyre, from its first foundation on the Syrian coast, was always so pre-eminently idolatrous that no king of this Baal-and-Astarte-worshipping city could ever have merited the praises here bestowed by Ezekiel upon the primitive orthodoxy of the object of the prophecy. Nor could there ever have been a period when the Syrian Tyre could have deserved the title of the "guardian cherub of the holy hill of God." The worship of Baal was contemporary with the foundation of the city. The temple of this deity was as old as the city itself. The fervour of idolatrous bigotry and superstition never seems

to have been intermittent in any period of Tyrian history. Ithobal, “the man or servant of Baal,” was a favourite name of the kings; and this appears to have been actually the name of the very king who was reigning at the time of the prophecy of Ezekiel. Nor would it be easy to understand to what part of any territory, ever possessed by the Syrian Tyre, the name of “the holy hill of God” could be applied. But assume that the Tyrian *people* is here typified under the figure of its *king*, and that the commencement of the first stanza relates to the innocent youth of the Phœnician nation, when they inhabited the Negeb, and when Mount Sinai was the great gathering-place of their religious assemblies, and the whole prophecy becomes clear and intelligible.

The concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history proves the Phœnicians to have been a Cushite colony from Chawîlah, on the Persian Gulf, who first settled in the Negeb, and were afterwards transferred, by the Assyrians, to the Mediterranean coast, south of Lebanon. In the early days of their settlement in the Negeb, they cultivated the pure worship of Jehovah, which they had brought from the yet uncorrupted parent nation of Chawîlah. Afterwards, enriched by a lucrative commerce, by sea, with India, and pampered with the luxuries of Egypt, Canaan, and Syria, which they obtained in exchange for the commodities of Ind, like Jeshurun, they “waxed fat and kicked,” and began to prefer the idol-gods of Egypt to the eternal Creator, whom they had previously worshipped in spirit and in truth. Then the power of the guilty nation was broken; they were cast, as profane, from the mount of God, and dispersed from the Negeb, a situation unrivalled in the world for a maritime people. The Assyrians, then masters of Syria and Canaan, compelled or induced them to remove to the northern coast of Syria, and to transfer their traffic from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. The agency of the Assyrians in this removal may be proved by a passage in the prophecy of Isaiah against Tyre (chap. xxiii. 13), which has hitherto much vexed translators and commentators, and not less the modern writers of Oriental history. In this prophecy Isaiah predicts the destruction of Tyre by the Chaldaeans under Nebuchadnezzar. He addresses the merchants of Tarshish or Tartessus, in Spain, as the richest and most flourishing of the Tyrian colonies, inhabiting the Peru of the ancient world. After the manner of the prophets, he bids these children of Tyre to sound the *mep*, or funeral lament, over the parent-city.

“Wail, ye ships of Tarshish,” exclaimed the prophet, (the ships being here taken figuratively for the merchants), “for Tyre

is laid waste." Using the present tense for the future, Isaiah places the whole scene vividly before his readers. We see, in the picture conjured up by his glowing words, the Sidonians and all the neighbouring nations gazing in speechless astonishment on the ruin of the Queen of the Sea; while the fierce Chaldaean, leaning on his sword, smiles grimly at the desolation caused by his victory. Then, to dash down the pride of the conqueror, and his confidence in his idol deities, the prophet inquires, in a tone of superb disdain, "Who has taken this counsel against Tyre?" "Jehovah of Hosts!" he replies triumphantly, "*He* has given command against the merchant city, to destroy the strongholds thereof." He then turns to the Chaldaeans, and pursues his argument, that the ruin of Tyre is really brought about by the hand of Jehovah. "Verily, oh land of the Chaldaeans; this people [the Tyrian] was not [till] the Assyrian assigned it [Tyre] for a seat for the Tzîyim; they [the Tzîyim] raised up its watch-towers, they erected its palaces, [and he, Jehovah] has appointed it for ruin. Wail, ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is destroyed."

The word Tzîyim, used generally, may be applied to the inhabitants of any dry region; but used in a definite sense, as is clearly the case here, it applies to the inhabitants of the Negeb, the Tzîyah κατ' ἐξοχήν, as being *that* "dry region" which, lying immediately to the south of Judah, was most familiar to the Yehûdim, or Judæans. The inhabitants of the Tzîyah, or Negeb, immediately before the foundation of Tyre, were certainly the Phœnicians; and the Phœnicians, with equal certainty, were a Cushite, and not, as is vulgarly supposed, a Canaanite people. Hence the writer of the eighty-seventh Psalm speaks of the Tyrians as Cushites, תְּצִיָּה רֹשׁ (Tyre, the people of Cush), for the Masoretic punctuation, תְּצִיָּה רֹשׁ (Tyre with Cush), seems to admit of no rational application.

We trust we have presented, in the preceding observations, a sufficiently clear account of the manner in which Mount Sinai acquired its ancient reputation for sanctity; and, in so doing, we hope we have in some degree furthered an object which every one must deem of primary importance,—the interpretation of the prophecies; and *that* with respect to two which have hitherto been deemed of peculiar obscurity. We have now to apply our elucidations of the ancient sanctity of Mount Sinai to the particular site of the Jebel el-'Ojmah, which we propose to shew was exactly the mountain which the Phœnicians would have chosen for their religious meetings, and whose very *name* is an evident corruption of an Arabic word which indicates these assemblies.

The title of the Holy Mount of God, applied to Mount Sinai, appears to indicate some revelation from the Deity to his worshippers to have occurred on this mountain, such as was made occasionally to the earlier patriarchs. Mention is made by Ezekiel of the rocks of fire; and it was in fire that the Deity usually revealed himself upon this mountain. Without assuming any complete system of religious ceremonies to have existed, such as is prescribed by the Mosaic law, we may take it for granted that there was at least some general outline of religious worship directed and observed. The chief element of this would necessarily be the meeting or assemblage of the whole nation, at one point, on the three great festivals of the year,—spring, the harvest, and the vintage. By the Mosaic law all the males of the nation were to meet three times every year at the place where Jehovah should “set his name.” Here they brought their sacrifices, which they were not permitted to offer in any other place. “When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which Jehovah your God giveth you to inherit, then there shall be a place which Jehovah shall choose to cause his name to dwell there. Thither thou shall come, and thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings and your sacrifices and your vows, and your free-will offerings, and there ye shall eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hands unto, ye and your sons, and your daughters, and your men-servants, and your maid-servants. Take heed unto thyself, that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest, but in the place which Jehovah shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shall offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee” (Deut. xii. 10—14). “Three times a year shall all thy males appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of harvest, and in the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field. And they shall not appear before Jehovah empty. Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of Jehovah thy God, which he hath given thee” (Deut. xvi. 16: Ex. xxiii. 16).

The “solemn assemblies” of the whole people, at stated intervals, were the cardinal points of the religion of this early period. Their object was to prevent idolatry, by confining sacrifices to a certain place, to be made within view of the whole nation, and to promote the civilization of the people by bringing them together, in joyous union, at the three great seasons of the year, for a holy, pure, and rational purpose. For these meetings a central position would be selected, affording ample

space for the whole people to encamp, with sufficient pasturage for their cattle.

All these requirements are exactly met in the position of the Jebel el-'Ojmah. It stands almost exactly in the centre of the peninsula; it is peculiarly accessible, in every direction, from all parts of the Negeb; and the vallies of the Tih mountains, and the plain of the Debbet er-Ramleh, afford abundant pasture-ground for cattle. The very name of the Jebel el-'Ojmah, جَبَلُ الْجَمَعَةِ, is an evident corruption of جَبَلُ الْجَمَعَةِ, the mountain of the religious assembly. With reference, therefore, to the early sanctity of Mount Sinai, we can require no better position for it than the Jebel el-'Ojmah.

The name of the "Mount of God" is given to Horeb, and the two names, Horeb and Sinai, are used in such close connexion with each other, as it would be impossible to account for, except on the supposition that Sinai was part of a long chain of mountains known by the general name of Horeb. The name of Horeb, in Hebrew, הָרֶב, signifies *desolation*, *aridity*, *barrenness*; and the feature in the Tih chain, which peculiarly struck Canon Stanley, was the general character of *blanched desolation*, which pervaded these mountains. We may observe that, in the Hebrew mind, the idea of a *blanched* or pallid aspect in scenery was closely connected with that of *aridity* or *desolation*, because both were the consequences of excessive heat. The name of Horeb, therefore, is precisely that which would have been given in Hebrew to the Tih mountains; and this is another link in the chain of identification.

V. We have next to consider how far our identification of Mount Sinai with the Jebel el-'Ojmah will agree with the circumstances of the visit of Moses to Midian, and the first revelation to the prophet of his future mission at the foot of Mount Sinai. If we were to assume, with the Jewish rabbins and the Mohammedan doctors, that the Midian of Jethro was on the east of the Ælanitic Gulf, the whole story would be incomprehensible. The Arabs of the present day point out the precise well, on the Arabian side of the Gulf, where (as they pretend) Moses first met the daughters of Jethro; a tradition which they, no doubt, received from the Arabian Jews; for whole colonies of Jews were settled in Arabia at the birth of Mohammed. From the well of Shoaib (the name given by the Mohammedans to Jethro), either to the monkish or the true Mount Sinai, would, to a shepherd encumbered with his flock, be a journey of weeks. The route he would have to pursue

would be one of the worst in the world for a pastoral journey, and there would have been no small danger that the plunderers of the desert (the wandering tribes of the Keturah-Sheba, for instance), would have treated the shepherd and his flock as unceremoniously as happened in the case of the cattle of Job,— “Sheba fell upon them and took them away; yea, and they have slain the servants with the edge of the sword.” After incurring all these dangers, Moses would have arrived at a spot where the scanty vegetation would scarcely have repaid him for the length of the journey; so that there would have been great personal toil, danger to his flock, and serious risk of his own life incurred, without any adequate object; for the flock, when it returned (if it really *did* return), would, in all probability, have been so lean, and in such wretched plight, as to appear but the ghost of that flock with which the journey was commenced. Again, when Moses returned to Egypt, his brother Aaron was sent to meet him by the Lord, and the two brothers met each other at the Mount of God, that is, Mount Horeb. Moses (it will be recollectcd) was hastening to Egypt to perform his mission. He had fully received all the necessary instructions for his great undertaking, and he had no conceivable motive to deviate from the direct road. Assuming that he was journeying to Egypt from the east of the Gulf of Eylath, he ought to have crossed the desert directly from Eylath to Shur, *i.e.*, from Akaba to Suez. But to deviate southerly to Mount Sinai, would have been to undertake a long and tedious journey, very far from the direct route, and wasting needlessly some weeks which, apparently, might have been better employed. This *supposed* deviation has always been a stumbling-block to those Biblical critics who have placed the Midian of Jethro’s clan to the east of the gulf.

On the other hand, assume the Jebel el-Ojmah to be Mount Sinai, the chain of the Tih Mount Horeb, and the Midian of Jethro to have been in the desert of Paran, to the north of Mount Horeb, and not only every difficulty vanishes, but every incident is as easily comprehended as if we had the whole scene before us. “Now Moses was pasturing the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, the priest of Midian; and he led the flock to the extremity of the desert (*אֶזְרָחַת הַמִּדְיָן*), and came to the mount of the [true] God, even to Horeb.” Here we may observe (1), that the terms of this passage apply properly only to an ordinary day’s journey of the flock in search of pasture, no distant journey is hinted at: (2), that “*the desert*” certainly implies the desert in which Jethro’s encampment was situated, otherwise it would want any intelligible application. Mount Horeb must, there-

fore, have bounded the desert in which Jethro was encamped ; and (3), that the Tîh chain (*our Mount Horeb*), is actually at the “*extremity*” of the desert of Paran ; for this is the proper rendering, and not (as in our Authorized Version), the “*backside of the desert.*” The whole chain of Horeb, it will be observed, was termed, in a general sense, “the Mountain of God ;” but Mount Sinai specially and particularly.

On the west side of Mount Sinai is the Nukb el-Mureikhy, or Om Rakhi, a pass which crosses the Horeb chain from north to south, and which, in the days of Moses, was probably the track by which the Amalekite caravans passed from Paran to the south of Canaan. Crossing the Horeb chain through this pass, Moses might have arrived at the south side of Mount Sinai, and there received his mission, near the future site of the Israelite encampment. After the Divine revelation, Moses immediately returned to Jethro, and asked permission to journey to Egypt, to see if his brethren were yet alive. “And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace ; and Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them on an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt.”

Assuming the position of the Midianite camp to have been such as we have described, Moses would have arrived, at the end of the first or second day’s journey, at the northern foot of Mount Horeb ; for the direction of this chain is from north-west to south-east.

Here, probably, would be their first “*Malón*” or resting-place for the night (the *Menzil* of the Arabs), which, in our English version, is rendered “inn,” a term unjustifiable in the modern meaning of that word, for *Malón* signifies neither an inn, nor a caravanserai, by its *intrinsic* force. Pursuing his course along the northern base of the mountain, he would naturally encounter his brother Aaron, who was advancing from Egypt to meet him, by the side of the Holy Mountain. Neither would deviate from the proper course ; both would meet in pursuing it. As far, therefore, as regards the residence of Moses in Midian, the positions we have suggested are a commentary on the Bible, which throws light upon utter darkness, and explains everything which was previously obscure.

VI. We now come to the march of the Israelites from the desert of Sin to Mount Sinai. On quitting the former, they enter the western extremity of the Debbet er-Ramleh, the great sandy belt of the peninsula. Extending from north-west to south-east, is the long chain of Mount Horeb on the left hand ; and ranges of limestone hills, forming the outward bulwark of the Granitic region, extend on the right. The lofty peak of Mount Sinai is seen, in the distance, towering over the rest of

the Horeb chain. The first two stations are Dophkah and Alush ; the third is Rephîdim, on the southern base of Mount Horeb. Here there was, probably, a watering-place, since the Israelites seem to have expected water; but the spring, if it really had ever existed, was dried up. After the usual murmurs of the people for want of water, the deficiency was miraculously supplied by Moses, who struck the rock with his wand, upon which water immediately gushed out. We are told expressly that the rock was “in Horeb,” which identifies the position as being on the south of the mountain.—“Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephîdim.” Who and what was Amalek? Jehovah himself, by the mouth of Balaam, informs us, that it was the *chief of all the nations* of the time; at least of those which might be considered as surrounding the kingdom of Moab. The German Professor Michaelis (whose opinion is adopted by some English writers of high reputation), assures us that the Amalekites were a petty tribe of prowling kidnappers, living by plunder. As all the authorities quoted by him, instead of supporting his argument, completely disprove it, we shall reject his opinion without hesitation, and assume that the nation which could venture to encounter an army of 600,000 men was a populous, warlike, and powerful one. If the Israelites had not been supported by a miracle, they would, notwithstanding their vast numbers, have been destroyed by the Amalekites; for, “whenever Moses let down his hand Amalek prevailed.” The Amalekites were finally repulsed rather than conquered; and after this battle hostilities ceased between the two nations. But a fearful doom was launched against the Amalekite nation. A war, to continue century after century, was declared against them by Jehovah, and a sentence of final extermination was passed against them; after which *the very memory of this nation was to perish from the earth!* Does not this fully establish the inference, that they were one of the most powerful nations of the age? Shall we suppose that the Deity himself declared a war of extermination against a petty tribe of the prowlers of the desert, and *that* war to continue for centuries? Or that Jehovah himself doomed the memory of such a tribe to oblivion, when the greater miracle would have been to preserve it? In what the crime of the Amalekites consisted, which could provoke so terrible a doom; and how it happened that, though they were merely repulsed at Rephîdim, the Israelites continued in the kingdom of Amalek for thirty-eight years, peaceably and without a renewed contest; we will endeavour to explain in a special dissertation “On the doom of Amalek.”

It seems perfectly clear that the numbers which encountered

at the battle of Rephîdim could not have been less than half a million of men. We may reasonably suppose that the Israelites in this first battle, where they were so greatly imperilled, would have led to the combat at least half their available forces; and that the forces of the Amalekites, led against a nation which could bring 600,000 men into the field, could not be less than 200,000. When Saul, on a future occasion, made war against the Amalekites, he deemed an army of 210,000 men to be necessary for the purpose; although, as he had to conduct these forces through a vast desert, where water was exceedingly scarce, he had every motive to reduce his army to the smallest numbers which it would be prudent to employ. The position which we have chosen for Rephîdim affords ample room for the encounter of the large armies actually engaged there; but we should vainly search, in the Granitic district, for an adequate battle-field for half a million of men.

Immediately after the battle Jethro visits the camp of Israel. From the position which we have selected for Jethro's Midian, this visit would have been easy and practicable. From Rephîdim to the encampment of Jethro would probably have been only two days' journey to a person unencumbered. But the case would be far different if we place Midian to the east of the Gulf of Eylath.

We shall only mention one more point with respect to the Midianites. Hobab the Midianite, the son of Jethro, and brother-in-law of Moses, was so well acquainted with the desert of Paran, that he was competent to serve as a guide to the Israelites in their marches. If we suppose him to have been born, and to have dwelt all his life in the desert of Paran, he would naturally have acquired this knowledge; but if the seat of his nation was on the east of the Ælanitic Gulf, his intimate knowledge of the desert of Paran would have been equally singular and unaccountable.

From Rephîdim the Israelites march to the foot of Mount Sinai.

VII. The most remarkable circumstances which occurred at Mount Sinai, with a view to the identification of the mountain, were (1), on the day of the covenant, and (2), on the day of the idolatrous worship of the golden calf.

On their arrival at the mountain, a day was appointed for the Israelites to enter into a covenant with Jehovah. That neither man nor beast might desecrate the mountain by treading on it, bounds were set round its foot, to prevent any one from approaching. They were not *natural* bounds, as a late writer has supposed, but *artificial* ones, set up for the occasion (Exod.

xix. 12). They were not merely limits, but opposed a physical impediment to the approach to the mountain (ver. 23). They probably consisted of a ditch and a mound.

As the monkish Mount Horeb, from the summit of which rises the monkish Mount Sinai, is a precipitous rock, ascending abruptly from the plain of er-Raheh, and the two lateral wadys, such bounds with respect to it would scarcely have been necessary. This peculiarity of the traditional Horeb and Sinai seems alone fatal to their claims, if, at the present day, they could really be said to possess any.

On the morning of the day of the covenant the whole side of the mount was covered by a thick cloud, which hid it from view; and Jehovah descended *in fire* upon the summit of Sinai. The people were brought out of the camp to the foot of the mountain. This is to be understood not only of the *males* of Israel, but of the whole people, including the women and children, even to the hewer of wood and drawer of water; for the whole nation was required to be present, whenever Israel entered into a covenant with Jehovah; even the stranger in the camp was brought forward as a witness (Deut. xxix. 10—12). There would, therefore (including the Asaphsuph), have been more than three millions of souls ranged in order at the foot of the mountain.

Moses then ascended to its summit, and afterwards returned to the people. As this ascent only occupied part of the day, and left ample time for the subsequent delivery of several important laws to Moses, we have here a sufficient refutation of the absurd opinion of those who imagine that Mount Sinai is to be sought for amongst the loftiest mountains of the peninsula. The mountains in which great miracles have been performed have usually been of very moderate elevation, such, for instance, as Carmel. A lofty mountain is unsuitable for the purpose; its very height abstracts from the evidence of the miracle, if witnessed from its base. In the present instance the terms of the historic narrative render the selection of any elevated mountain for the Exodial Sinai absolutely impossible.

The Divine voice then proclaimed aloud the words of the Decalogue; and this was followed by thunder and lightning, till the whole mountain appeared to smoke. The people were so much alarmed that they *removed and stood afar off*, between the mountain and the camp. In the desert, therefore, at the foot of the true Mount Sinai, there should be room for an encampment of three millions of souls with the cattle; and between the camp and the mountain space is required for the whole people; *first*, to be ranged in order at the foot of the

mountain ; and, *secondly*, to retire afar off in the direction of the camp. Lord Lindsay, speaking of the traditional Sinai, is of opinion that there is not space enough for these purposes in the narrow precipitous ravines from which alone the peaks are visible, *or in any other place or valley in the whole district*. Whenever the plain of er-Raheh, in front of the traditional Horeb, is accurately measured, there can scarcely be a doubt, notwithstanding some bold assertions to the contrary, that his lordship's opinion will be found correct. But in the Debbet er-Ramleh, in front of the Jebel er-'Ojmah, there is, if in any part of the peninsula whatever, ample space for all these purposes.

As the people are said to have beheld from the base of the mountain the flame, indicating the presence of God, on its summit, this summit should be visible from the plain, or at least some conspicuous peak, which in ordinary parlance might be termed the summit. This is not the case with respect to the traditional Sinai ; but it will, no doubt, be found to be complied with in the Jebel el-'Ojmah. We apprehend, therefore, that the Jebel el-'Ojmah, and the desert in front of it, will be found not only to be a scene appropriate to the great events of the Day of the Covenant, but that the former will be the only mountain in the whole peninsula which is suitable for the purpose.

During all the marches of the Israelites, they were preceded by a miraculous pillar, which assumed the shape of a cloud by day, and a flame of fire by night. This was supposed to indicate the immediate presence of Jehovah, by which we are of course to understand a special emanation of his essence. On the Day of the Covenant, this emblem of the presence of Jehovah appears to have been transferred to Mount Sinai, the flame and cloud being both visible at the same time ; the cloud covering the whole side of the mountain like a thick mist, or fog, or dense smoke ; the flame shining resplendently from the summit, and visible above the intense darkness, which however it did not disperse. They appear to have continued in this state till the setting up of the Nomade temple, or "tabernacle of the congregation." This was no sooner erected, at the commencement of the second year after quitting Egypt, than the miraculous Shechinah descended upon the tabernacle. "The cloud of Jehovah was upon the tabernacle by day ; and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all the journeys" (Exod. xl. 38). This indicated the presence of God in the sanctuary ; and from that time Moses, who had always previously ascended Mount Sinai to commune with Jehovah, now ceased to go up, and received all his future instructions in the tabernacle of the congregation.

This will explain some important occurrences on the day on which the golden image of the calf,—the brute object of their old Egyptian idolatry, was erected. Moses was on the summit of Sinai (at the termination of the first forty days which he spent there unsustained by mortal food) when the idol *Chag*, or festival having commenced, the people were feasting and dancing in the plain below, before the image of the calf. Of all this, Moses perceived nothing, because the thick cloud which covered the mountain intercepted the view of the plain. Jehovah informed him of the rebellion of the people; and the prophet then descended the mountain with his servant Joshua. As they were going down, Joshua heard the noise of the people, as they shouted, and said to Moses, “There is a noise of war in the camp.” And Moses said, “It is not the voice of a cry of victory, neither is it the voice of a cry of defeat; but it is the voice of singing that I hear” (Exod. xxxii. 17, 18). It was not till Moses had quitted the cloudy canopy which enveloped the mountain, and had entered on the plain, that he perceived the people busily engaged in their idolatrous rites. They were dancing in a state of nudity before the calf, with the Amalekites (their late *enemies*, but with whom they had now made a truce) sitting or standing by, the amused spectators of the infamy of their conquerors (Exod. xxxii. 25). Moses afterwards reduced the calf into powder, and “cast the dust thereof into the brook (*תְּהִרְבֵּן*) that descended out of the mountain” (Deut. ix. 21).

It will be seen from the preceding statement, that we are not to attribute to any peculiar conformation of Mount Sinai the fact that Moses heard the noise of the idolatrous feast before he could perceive what was passing in the plain. Had it not been for the dense cloud which enveloped the mountain, he must have seen what was passing, from the mountain top; as the summit itself was visible from the plain, when not obscured by the miraculous cloud. The Nachal or brook, into which the dust of the golden calf was thrown, appears to be the Wâdy el-Mureikhy. The mountain out of which it descends may mean either Horeb or Sinai.

The position of the Israelitic encampment at Mount Sinai, with the extent of ground which they occupied for the pasturage of their cattle, is distinctly marked in the first verse of the first chapter of Deuteronomy, although there is an evident error in the Hebrew text. The verse should be read as follows: “These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel, in the ’Arâbah, or plain, of the Jordan; [being a repetition of the law, which he had before delivered to them] in the Midbar, or wilderness, over against the Red Sea, between Paran and Laban, and Tophel, and

Chatzêroth, and Di-zahab.” Some words to the purport of those between brackets, we think, have been omitted by the copyists,—the words ’Arabâh and Midbar have been transposed ;—for the former clearly describes the *plain* of the Jordan, and the latter, the *desert* of Sinai ; and the words גַּם־הַיָּם (improperly translated “on this side the Jordan”) have been interpolated in this place, as in several others, from the ignorant marginal note of some Judæan doctor returned from the captivity.

The proof that the five local names relate to the desert of Sinai, and have no connexion with the plain of the Jordan, where the book of Deuteronomy was composed, is direct and incontrovertible. Three of these places can be satisfactorily identified with names of places still in existence in the Sinaitic peninsula. Paran is well known to be the modern Feiran. Chatzêroth was certainly on the site of Hudhêra, because the two names מִצְרָעָה and حَسْرَة are identical ; and the situation of Hudhêra is proved to be the right one, by its relative position with respect to Di-zahab. The last named place, which signifies “the golden,” i.e., port (El-Dorado, as a Spaniard would term it) was indisputably on the site of Mînat edh-Dhahab (مبينة الذهب), which has exactly the same signification as Di-zahab, and is the best port on the Gulf of Akaba. As to the other two places, Tophel was in all probability a place near Paran, in which the mineral called the Tafal, or yellow pipe-clay, is dug. As this article would have been of great use to the Israelites when encamped at Mount Sinai, it is probable that they purchased it in large quantities from the Amalekites, and were particularly familiar with the place where it was procured. The hills where it is still excavated appear to be a little to the north-east of Paran. Laban was probably some mountain of peculiar whiteness in the Horeb chain. The desert at the south of the Jebel el-Ojmah exactly agrees with these indications. It is between all these five places ; which are only mentioned as well known names, indicating the central position between them, and not as assuming that the actual pasture grounds of the Israelites extended so far south as Di-zahab, or Paran. The Granitic region was the stronghold of the Amalekites, and into this the Hebrews could not have penetrated.

One only criterion remains to be mentioned for the purpose of identifying the Mosaic Sinai with the Jebel el-Ojmah of the modern Arabs. This, combined with the proofs which have preceded it, establishes this important identification with absolute certainty. We have shewn that the miraculous pillar, which

assumed alternately the appearance of a cloud and of fire, settled upon the tabernacle of the congregation immediately after it was erected. “On the day that the tabernacle was reared up, the cloud covered the tabernacle, namely, the tent of the testimony ; and at even there was (as it were) the appearance of fire, until the morning. So it was always, the cloud covered it by day, and the appearance of fire by night. And when the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, then after that the children of Israel journeyed ; and in the place where the cloud abode, there the children of Israel pitched their tents” (Numb. ix. 15—17). The miraculous pillar therefore was the guide of all their journeys ; it indicated all their marches and encampments.

After a residence of eleven months and nineteen days at the foot of Mount Sinai, the march was resumed northwards to Kadesh. The miraculous cloud was seen slowly to elevate itself from the tabernacle of the congregation ; the tents were struck, the baggage collected, the beasts of burthen laden ; the whole encampment was on the march. The guiding pillar then moved in the direction of the Nukb el-Mureikhy, and leading the march through the Horeb chain by that pass, it conducted them into the desert of Paran. The encampment for the first night was in that desert, on the north of the chain of Mount Horeb. “And it came to pass on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, that the cloud was taken up from off the tabernacle of the testimony. And the children of Israel proceeded in their journeyings from the wilderness of Sinai ; and the cloud sunk down to rest (*וְיָשַׁבְתִּי בְּצִדְקוֹתֵךְ*) in the wilderness of Paran” (Num. x. 11, 12).

If the whole peninsula be searched through, there is not another situation in which this could have happened, combined with the existence of a mountain in any respect suitable to the description of Mount Sinai. Let this be admitted, as we think it will, and the long-pending discussion respecting the site of Mount Sinai may be considered as now set at rest.

CHAPTER IV.—*Kadesh.*

The apparent object of the marches of the Israelites from Horeb, was to commence the conquest of Canaan from its south border, in that part which may be termed the Amorite Highlands in opposition to the Shephêlah, or Lowlands, occupied by the Philistines. The mountainous country of the Amorites was that which afterwards became the possession of the tribe of

Judah ; and which, in the New Testament, is called the Hill Country of Judæa. It was now inhabited by the Amorites, a people "tall as the cedar, strong as the oak," and among whom was still existing in their cities a considerable remnant of the ancient Anakim, or giants. Of the stature of the Anakim, we may judge from the description given of them by the spies at Kadesh: " And we saw the giants, the sons of Anâk ; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers ; and so were we in their sight " (Num. xiii. 33). This was a formidable nation to encounter ; but they were still infinitely less terrible than their western neighbours the Philistines, the most warlike nation of the East, and who may be termed the Spartans of Asia.

On marching from Horeb to attack the mountainous region of the Amorites, the best position for the final encampment, previous to entering the Amorite territory, was certainly on the site of the modern el-Khalesah. Let us, therefore, assume that this might have been the site of Kadesh, and examine how far it will agree with the requirements of the Scriptural history in the same manner which we have adopted with respect to Mount Sinai.

The route across the desert of Paran northwards has never yet been properly explored. The modern name of this desert is "the Tîh" (تیه) a word which is explained by the Arabic lexicographers to mean, when used indefinitely, any *desert* through which the traveller wanders in a state of surprise or confusion ; but with the definite article prefixed ^{الـ}تیه, its meaning is restricted to the particular desert of which we are now treating. This desert is peculiarly and pre-eminently the Tîh, and it is very probable after all that it is a mere corruption of the Hebrew מִדָּה, or the Dry Country, a name which was used, as we have before observed, with peculiar application to this region. The Arabic verb تَاهَ seems formed from the noun rather than the noun from the verb. Moses describes this desert in terms which fully justify the modern Arabic definition, of a desert whose horrors confound and astonish the traveller. " And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness in the way to the hill country of the Amorites ; and we came to Kadesh Barnea " (Deut. i. 19). In another text he describes it "as that great and terrible wilderness wherein were fiery serpents and scorpions, and drought, wherein there was no water" (viii. 15). The stations between Horeb and Kadesh appear to have been sixteen. Whenever the desert of

Paran is properly explored, it is probable that most of these names will be found to be still in use (only slightly corrupted) among the modern Arabs. That there is a reasonable prospect of this will be seen more fully in the sequel. In the meantime, all we know of the route is, that it did not join the road from Akaba to el-Khalesah, but must have kept to the west of that track. It is not improbable that it may have followed, as far as practicable, the course of the Wâdy el-Arish northwards.

The *first two* stations are not named by Moses. The *third* seems to have been Tab'erah, which also received the name of Kibroth hat-Ta'awah, or the *Graves of Desire*, i. e., of those who desired, or longed after, flesh-meat, from weariness of the insipid taste of the manna. Here the murmurs of the people for flesh induced the miraculous supply of quails, which was followed by a very great plague, in which perished a multitude of the people. It is not improbable that the 'Ain er-Rejem, the fountain of the cairn, or tomb, may still preserve the memory of Kibroth hat-Ta'awah. The *fourth* station was Chatzéroth, which is not to be confounded with the Chatzéroth to the north of Di-zahab. There were anciently several places of this name in the peninsula. The next three stations were Rithmah, Rimmon-Pâretz, and Libnah. Libnah seems to have been not only a city, but a place of some importance. We find that when Edom threw off the yoke of the kings of Judah in the days of Jehoram (cir. 885 b.c.) Libnah also revolted and regained its independence (2 Kings viii. 22). It seems not improbable that this city was on the point where the caravan-route from Paran to Kadesh and Beersheba intersected that from Eylath to Shur.

Proceeding northwards from Libnah, the next stations were Rissah, Kehêlath, and Har-Shapher. Har-Shapher might probably be the Jebel Yelek. The six next stations were Charâdah, Makhêloth, Tachath, Tarach, Mithkah, and Chashmonah. The next station to Chashmonah was Kadesh Barnea, which is often called simply Kadesh. In the list of stations (Numb. xxxiii. 30) the name of this city is omitted in its proper place between Chashmonah and Mosérah. That it ought to have stood here is certain, because the six following stations (as we shall prove indisputably) were on the route which the Israelites took to the Red Sea (*i. e.*, the Gulf of Eylath) *after quitting Kadesh*. Kadesh was the seventeenth station after leaving Mount Sinai. The distance between the two places, *by the way of Mount Se'yr*, is said (Deut. i. 2) to be eleven days' journey. But this is the rate of more rapid travelling than that of the Israelites: their average day's march may be estimated at ten miles; and, as the entire distance between the Jebel el-'Ojmah and El-Khalesah,

by the route we have indicated, would be about 170 miles, the number of the stations agrees very well with the actual distance.

It will, of course, be understood that the Israelites did not encamp *in the city* of Kadesh, which could not have contained (if its inhabitants had quitted it for their accommodation) the three-hundredth part of their numbers. They encamped on the *west* of the city, and in the desert of Paran. Kadesh was near the uttermost border of the kingdom of Edom. Some modern writers, to favour their peculiar theories, have excluded the chain of mountains on the north-west of the Arabah (which we have termed the Western Mount Se'yr) from the territories of Edom; but this view of the border of Edom is clearly erroneous. How admirably situated the position of Kadesh was for an invasion of the Amorite territory, will appear from the map. It was about fifteen miles to the south of the Canaanite border, and near the territories both of the Philistines and the Amorites; so that if these nations felt any alarm at the unexpected propinquity of a wandering nation of three millions of souls, neither could tell against which the attack was contemplated; and being scions of different ethnical stocks, they were not likely to combine either for attack or defence. 'Arâd, a principal city of the Amorites, was marked by the Israelites as the first object of attack; and Kadesh was peculiarly well situated for a march against this city.

We may now proceed to the various criteria, which all unite in identifying the site of Kadesh with that of El-Khalesah.

1. Kadesh was exactly on the line of the south border of Israel, as marked out by Moses (Numb. xxxiv. 3—5) and Joshua (xv. 2, 4). This border extended from the southern limit of the Dead Sea, called by Moses the Salt Sea, to the mouth of the Nachal Mitzrayim, the modern Wady el-'Arish. Both the north and south borders of Israel, as defined by Moses, were deduced from east to west, or from west to east, as nearly as possible in a straight line. If we draw such a direct line, on any good map, between the mouth of the Nachal Mitzrayim and the southern extremity of the Salt Sea, it will pass through El-Khalesah, or at a very short distance to the north of that site. The intermediate positions between the Dead Sea and Kadesh were the Ma'aleh Akrabbim (or Ascent of the Scorpions) and the desert of Tzin. *Ma'aleh* in Hebrew signifies exactly such a steep and dangerous pass or ascent as the modern Arabs describe by the words *Nukb* or *Akabah*. The Ma'aleh Akrabbim was certainly that remarkable pass by which travellers ascend from the Wady el-'Arabah to the south of Judæa, and which is

now called the Nukb es-Sufah. The northern extremity of this pass, at the village of Kurnab, lies exactly on the proposed line. The situation of Kurnab agrees with that assigned by Eusebius to Tamar, or Θαμαρ, and Tamar is described by Ezekiel as lying exactly on the south border of Israel (Ezek. xlvi. 19; xlviii. 28). The word Tamar, it will be observed, signifies a palm-tree; and the next position on the south border, proceeding westward, after quitting Tamar and the Ma'aleh Akrabbim, is the desert of Tzin. As ρ̄ is used by the Talmudists to signify a dwarf palm-tree, the cognate meanings of this word and Tamar appear a strong indication of their propinquity. The desert of Tzin was in the east of Kadesh, which therefore follows immediately after this desert in the western direction of the boundary. We may therefore place the desert of Tzin in the intermediate position between Kurnab and El-Khalesah. After quitting El-Khalesah, the boundary proceeds through several places, which cannot be identified in the present state of our geographical knowledge of this region, to the mouth of the Wady el-Arish. The general direction may possibly have been collaterally with the bed of the torrent now called the Wady el-Khubarah.

2. Kadesh was on the exact spot where the caravan-route from Hebron to Egypt, by Shur, crossed the south border of Israel. When the capital of Lower Egypt was at Memphis, the ordinary caravan-route from Canaan to Egypt was across the desert from Beersheba to the northern extremity of the Gulf of Suez. It was not till the founding of Alexandria that the coast road became the common route between the two countries. The route then from Hebron to Egypt was by, 1. Beersheba; 2. Kadesh; 3. Beer-lachai-roi; 4. Bered; 5. Shur. It was by this route that Hagar, when she fled from Sarah, was proceeding to Egypt, her native country (Gen. xvi. 7 and 14). When Jacob and his family were on their journey to Egypt, they also took the route by Beersheba (Gen. xlvi. 1).

El-Khalesah, which we identify with Kadesh, is about fifteen miles to the south-west of Beersheba, and exactly on the route from thence to Shur, the modern Suez. The station of Bered (we believe) still retains its ancient name. The whole route may be easily traced out, when travellers, actuated by the true spirit of discovery, will venture to deviate from the trite and ordinary tracks.

3. Kadesh was just beyond the extreme limits of the kingdom of Edom. It belonged apparently not to Edom, but to Amalek, for the Israelites never entered the kingdom of Edom. It will be seen in Joshua xv. 28, that Beersheba lay to the north of the border of Edom; and as El-Khalesah is a little to the south-west

of Beersheba, it would just be beyond the north-west corner of the limits of the children of Esau.

4. Kadesh lay between *two* deserts ; those of Paran to the west, and of Tzin to the east. When the Israelites *first* visited Kadesh, they encamped in the desert of Paran ; on their *last* visit, in *that* of Tzin. El-Khalesah is exactly on the borders of the desert of Paran, which comes up to it on the western side ; and the desert of Tzin will naturally be sought for on the east of El-Khalesah, between that site and the Pass of Sufah and the village of Kurnab. When the spies proceeded from Kadesh to Hebron, they passed through the desert of Tzin (Numb. xiii. 21, 22). This agrees exactly with the supposition that El-Khalesah is the true site of Kadesh.

5. The desert in the immediate vicinity of Kadesh (though part of the desert of Paran, and perhaps of Tzin) is called (Psalm xxix. 8) the desert of Kadesh.

“ The voice of Jehovah breaketh the cedars ;
Yea, Jehovah breaketh the cedars of Lebanon.
He maketh them also to dance like a calf ;
Lebanon and Sirion like the calf of the buffalo.
The voice of Jehovah makes the desert to tremble,
Jehovah causes to tremble the desert of Kadesh.”

Here Kadesh and Lebanon are obviously mentioned as the two extremities of Israel on the south and north ; for the northern boundary crossed over the Lebanon chain from Gebal, by Mount Hor, to the Le-bo Chamath, and the southern boundary passed from the mouth of the Nachal Metzrayim, through Kadesh, to the Dead Sea. That the desert round El-Khalesah was formerly called the desert of Kadesh, may be easily proved. El-Khalesah was in the time of the Macedonians and Romans called *Ἐλουσα*, or Elusa. This is proved both by the similarity of names, and the distances, in the *Peutinger Itinerary*, on the road from Ælia Capitolina (Jerusalem) to Aila (Akaba). The Jewish name for Elusa (as used in the first century after Christ) was אַלְעָסָה.

Now we find that in the time of St. Jerome, the desert around Elusa still retained the name of the desert of Kadesh, although the name of the city itself had been changed by the Idumæans to Alusa, from which the Macedonians formed the name of *Ἐλουσα*. As the passage in Jerome is curious, we shall cite it in full : it occurs in his life of Hilarion :—“ Quantum autem fuerit in eo studii, ut nullum fratrem quamvis humilem, quamvis pauperem præteriret, vel illud indicio est, quod vadens in desertum Cades, ad unum de discipulis suis visendum, cum

infinito agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam, eo forte die, quo anniversaria solennitas, omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. Colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est. Sed et ipsum oppidum ex magnâ parte semibarbarum est, propter loci situm.” Here we find the confutation of a common error (adopted inadvertently by Dean Milman, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii., p. 68), that Hircanus having subjugated Idumæa, “compelled the ancient rivals of his people to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion, and so completely incorporated the two nations that the name of Idumæa appears no more in history.” The conquests of Hircanus only extended to that part of the south of Judæa which the Idumæans had seized upon during the Babylonian captivity. The territories of the Idumæans in the Negeb still remained distinct, till the old territorial divisions of the Negeb were incorporated in that of the Third Palestine. Ptolemy enumerates the cities of Idumæa, one of which is *Ἐλονσα*; and from St. Jerome’s life of Hilarion we find that the people retained their old idolatry, and the use of the Aramean dialect, till the beginning of the fourth century after Christ.

The Elusans, according to Jerome, were Sabæans, worshipping the planet Venus, on its appearance as the morning star. This planet is mentioned by St. Nilus (an excellent authority on the subject) as a favourite object of the worship of the Nabathæan Arabs, who are described by him, as ἄσρῳ τῷ πρωΐῳ προσκυνοῦντες καὶ θύοντες ἀνατέλλοντι. From this we may discern the origin of the name of Elusa. It is evidently the same name as the Alush, on the route from the desert of Sin to Mount Sinai; and both these names appear to signify the planet Venus, the favourite object of the veneration of the inhabitants. Herodotus, speaking of the Persians, observes, Ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Ουρανῇ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀράβιων. Καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, Μύλιττα· Ἀράβιοι δὲ, Ἀλίττα· Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν (Clio, 131). For the *Αλίττα* of Herodotus we ought perhaps to read *Αλυττα*, and we may probably trace the name in the Phrygian *Αλυδδα*; for Phrygia was peculiarly imbued with the Syrian superstitions.

For the name of Kadesh, or Kadesh Barnea, Canon Stanley suggests a derivation which is evidently not the true one.—“ Its very name awakens our attention,—‘The Holy Place,’ the same name by which Jerusalem itself is still called in Arabic, *El-Khods*.”—This is an obvious inadvertence on the part of the pleasing writer of *Sinai and Palestine*. There is not an instance in the Hebrew language in which Kadesh is used in the signification of *holy*. The interesting visions therefore which Canon

Stanley has raised on this error, are as unsubstantial as his identification of Petra with Kadesh, in which he follows on the track of the rabbins. We need scarcely remark that the proper adjective to express the idea of "holy" in Hebrew is קדשׁ. The word קדשׁ is always used in a *bad* sense; and therefore Gesenius, with some propriety, marks the distinction between them by rendering the former "sanctus," and the latter "sacer"—a word which is often used to signify the reverse of "holy." *Kadesh*, with its feminine *Kedéshah*, signifies a person dedicated by vow to the service of one of the idols of polytheism: it is the Ἱεροδουλος of the Greeks; and so numerous were these devotees, that one temple alone in Cappadocia possessed five thousand of them. The groves which surrounded the temples of polytheism were haunts of debauchery, where in tents or buildings erected for the purpose, these wretched beings prostituted themselves as a sacred duty, highly meritorious to the idol whom they served. The ἱερα, or meretricious hire, received as the reward of these debaucheries, was paid into the treasury of the temple for the profit of the priests. Such were the rites of polytheism, the enquiry into which is disgusting in itself, and yet of the utmost importance to the illustration of Biblical history. The most formidable objection ever made against revealed religion, can only be refuted by a thorough comprehension of some of the worst features of polytheism.

The preceding remarks will conduct us to the true origin of the name of Kadesh Barnea. It means simply *Bar-neā'* (the proper name of a man), *the Kādesh*, or devoted slave, of the planet Venus, the guardian deity of the place. Being probably wealthy before his consecration, this person might have built a temple to Alyta, which attracted votaries, and led to the foundation of a city, which in gratitude to its founder took the name of *Kādesh Bar-neā'*; or the true Syrian name might always have been Alusa, and Kadesh have been a term of contempt applied to it by the Israelites in mockery of its origin. Viewing the matter in this light, we cannot agree with Canon Stanley in holding that the word Kadesh signifies "the holy place."

The five criteria which we have successively examined establish so clearly the identity of Kadesh with El-Khalesah, that it might appear perfectly needless to adduce any further proofs; yet, in the course of the next chapter, additional evidence will present itself of such a nature, that without any reference to collateral proofs, it would be alone sufficient to demonstrate irrefragably the proposition for which we contend.

CHAPTER V.—*The Thirty-eight Years' Wandering.*

I. After the rebellion at Kadesh, caused by the report of ten of the twelve spies sent to examine the land of Canaan, the whole nation of Israel was punished for its perverseness, by the sentence to wander round the borders of Edom, till all the males of the military tribes, who were included in the census taken at Mount Sinai, should have passed away from the earth. A whole generation was destined to lay its bones in the desert. The march was to commence, the following morning, for the Red Sea (**תְּבוּנָה מִזְרָחָה**, Num. xiv. 25). It is, of course, certain that by the Red Sea is meant the Gulf of Eylath; for the intention of the people, in the height of the rebellion, was to elect a new leader, who should conduct them back to Egypt. They hoped probably to return to their former slavery, and that the Egyptians, content with the punishment of their chiefs, would spare the multitude. To have conducted them, therefore, to the Gulf of Suez would have been to throw the most dangerous temptation in their way. It was desirable to conduct them as far as possible from the direct path to Egypt; and Etzyon-geber, to which their march was to be pointed, was exactly on the opposite side of the peninsula.

II. When the morning came, however, the spirit of rebellion had again seized upon the people in a new form. They were now determined to march against the Amorites. They were assured by Moses that their presumptuous attempt would end in a miserable failure; but they were not to be deterred. Moses, and the ark of the covenant, remained in the encampment; the cloudy pillar continued over the tabernacle; and they marched, no longer conducted, or accompanied, by the Strength of Israel, against the Amorites of the highlands. Among these Amorites, in what may be termed “the debateable land,” (viz., *that part of the ancient territory of Se'yr which was not included in Edom,*) was settled a colony of Amalekites. They appear to have been totally independent of the king of Amalek, and to have made common cause with the Amorites. The two nations attacked the invading Israelites, routed them completely, and, pursuing after them, chased them, to use the expression of Moses (Deut. i. 44), as a swarm of bees would chase any one who had irritated them, through the debateable land of Mount Se'yr, to the city of Tzephath, afterwards named Chormah.

All this agrees with the position we have assigned to Kadesh. The expedition was intended against 'Arâd, which still retains its ancient name, as Tell 'Arâd. The city of Chormah may, we

think, be identified with the modern site of 'Arârah. They had evidently passed considerably beyond Chormah, and seemed to have reached 'Arâd, from which they were chased back to Chormah. The expression ^{רֹאשׁ הַר} שָׂן in Numb. xiv. 40, may either be translated "the top of the hill," or "the chief city of the hill country." If the former, it applies to 'Arârah, or more properly ^{جَنُوب} عَرْجَن, which signifies, in Arabic, "the top of the mountain;" if the latter, it must be understood of the city of 'Arâd, which appears to have been the capital of this part of the Amorite Highlands.

The passage, Numb. xiv. 40—45, ought, we think, to be thus translated : "And they rose up early in the morning, and were about to ascend to the top of the mountain [or to the chief city of the hill country], saying, Verily here we are, and we will go up to the place which Jehovah spoke of, for we have sinned. And Moses said, How is this? ye are transgressing the command of Jehovah, and it shall not prosper. Go not up, that ye be not smitten before your enemies, for Jehovah will not be in the midst of you. For the Amalekites and the Canaanites are there to encounter you, and ye shall fall by the sword, because ye have turned away from following Jehovah, and Jehovah will not be with you. Nevertheless they presumed to go up to the top of the mountains [or, the capital of the hill country]. But the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, and Moses, departed not out of the camp. Then came down the Amalekites and the Canaanites, the inhabitants of that mountainous country, and smote them, and discomfited them, as far as the Chormah [or the devoted city]."

III. After this defeat the Israelites acquiesced in the sentence which they had now no hopes of evading, and commenced their march to Etzyon-geber on the Gulf of Eylath. The route which they were now pursuing was, at that time, the great track of the Arabian caravans, from the city of Eylath to Gaza and Hebron. Under the Roman dominion, it became one of the principal roads of the Petraea, and will be found in the *Peutinger Itinerary* as the route from Ælia Capitolina to Aila. It was more convenient than the shorter route through the Arabah, because it was better watered, and passed by several cities of note ; as, Elusa (El-Khalesah), Oboda, or Eboda ('Abdeh), Lusa (Wady el-Lusan), and Gypsaria (Ghudhir). It happens, fortunately, that this is one of the very few routes of the desert which have been investigated by a competent traveller. The learned Biblicalist to whom we are indebted for the details of this route, misled by his previous impressions as to the site of Mount

Hor, failed to discover the important, or rather inestimable use, to which this route may be applied in the elucidation of the Exodus. Nor has any subsequent writer examined it with a more discerning criticism. It is, however, certain, that on a careful comparison of the modern route with the Pentateuchal history, *all the stations of the Israelite encampments, mentioned by Moses, between Kadesh and Etzyon-geber, may still be identified with the modern names by which these stations are now known to the Arabs of the desert.* This fact, which we shall fully substantiate, is perhaps the greatest discovery which has yet been made in Biblical geography. Here we have an important route, extending for a distance of about 130 miles, clearly identified in every station with the existing landmarks of the desert ; the sites of Kadesh and Mount Hor established with a precision never before hoped for ; and the whole route of the Exodus placed upon a clear and satisfactory basis by the light which this discovery throws upon it.

In these identifications of the old with the modern names, no possible suspicion of fraud can exist. The Jewish rabbi and the Christian monk both agreed in placing Kadesh and Mount Hor in very different situations from those which this route will point out. No one has had an interest in imposing fictitious names upon the stations ; yet there, after a period of more than thirty-three centuries, they still remain in the rarely-trodden desert, delivered down from one generation of Nomades to another, as if preserved by some peculiar providence to vindicate the truth of the Mosaic history. This route was *twice*, at least, travelled by the Israelites ; and on both journeys the encampments were the same. The first journey is described in Numb. xxxiii. 30—36 ; the last in Deut. x. 6 and 7. By comparing the two together, it is easy to form a correct list of the stations.

1. The first station, after quitting Kadesh, was Beeroth beney-Ya'akan, or the Wells of the sons of Ya'akan (Deut. x. 6). In Numb. xxx. 31, it is named elliptically Beney-Ya'akan, and placed, by an error of the transcriber, *after* Moserah, though its proper place is evidently before this station, as it correctly occurs in Deut. x. 6. This station may be identified with the modern Birein, which has exactly the same meaning in the vulgar Arabic as Beeroth in Hebrew. It is also about twenty miles south of Kadesh, which will be found to be the *average* distance of the stations on this route from each other. The stations seem to be all of them the known caravan stations in the time of Moses, and on that account have probably been the better preserved in the desert. There were, perhaps, interme-

diate stations in the Hebrew march, the names of which, being less known, have been omitted.

2. The second station was Mosérah (Deut. x. 6), or Moséroth (Numb. xxxiii. 30). This name still exists, with a slight variation, in the Wady Mosériah.

3. No mention is made by Moses of the precise spot where the rebellion of Korah took place; but the memory of the miraculous punishment of this rebellious Levite, appears to be preserved in the name of Wady Koreyah, an intermediate position between Mosérah and the following station.

4. The next station is called in Deuteronomy Hag-gudhgodhah; and in Numbers, Chor Hag-gidhgadh. There can be no doubt whatever that this is to be identified with the Wady el-Gudhagidh. The city which the Nabathæans called לִבְנָה and the Greeks "Avapa, might probably be placed at this station, unless we are to suppose that it is the Aramean name for that city which the Israelites called Libnah. It is mentioned both by Ptolemy and the geographer Stephanus, as one of the cities of the Arabian Peträa, and Ptolemy places it in long. $66\frac{1}{2}$ and lat. $29\frac{2}{3}$; but his positions are not at all to be depended upon, being in many cases extravagantly erroneous.

5. Proceeding from Gudhgodhah the next station was Yotbah, not Yotbath or Yotbathah, as it appears in our translations. The error arises from confounding the affix of *motion to a place* with the name to which it is appended. Yotbah appears to have been a city of importance. When Edom established its independence on the kings of Judah, and dangerous confederacies were constantly formed in the south against the Judæans, the later kings of Judah found it necessary to counterbalance these confederacies by forming alliances with some of the princes of the independent cities lying to the south of Edom. Thus Manasseh took for a wife Meshullemeth, the daughter of Chârutz of Yotbah; and Josiah married Chamûtal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah. The intrigues of the Tyrians established at Rhinocorura, rendered these alliances absolutely necessary. We find the Tyrians mentioned in the Psalms composed at this period, and in the later prophets, as joining with the Philistines and the nations of the Negeb in the confederacies against Judah. This could only apply to their colony at the mouth of the Nachal Mitzrayim, which certainly existed in the time of Isaiah, and probably as early as the times of Solomon, or even David. It is not at all improbable that Hirám persuaded David to permit the Tyrians to establish a colony in this position, that they might renew their Oriental commerce, and that this suggested to Solomon the idea of compelling them to admit him as a

partner in this lucrative traffic. The Sichor Mitzrayim (the Phœnician name for the Nachal Mitzrayim) is really the Sichor mentioned by Isaiah xxiii. 3; for the Indian traffic expressed by the figurative term of *the harvest of the YEOR* (the Aramean for a Nachal or torrent), was certainly a better revenue to Tyre than the traffic of Egypt. The grain and other agricultural produce of Egypt could have been of little importance, compared with the riches of the Indian commerce poured into Tyre from the colony on the Nachal Mitzrayim. To secure this invaluable settlement against the ambition of the kings of Judah was the great object of all the confederacies of the Negeb alluded in Scripture, and which were constantly kept on foot by the predominant influence of Tyrian gold.

To return to Yotbah; this city, as we are informed in Deut. x. 7, was situated in a country fertilized by several Nachals or torrents. The site and name may be discovered in the Wady el-'Adhbeh; for ^{وادی} عَذْبَه in Arabic has exactly the same meaning as נַחַל in Hebrew. The origin of the two words is in fact the same, ن and ذ being both the same primitive root signifying *good*, and the ن and ذ being merely prefixes to complete the triliteral roots, after a principle everywhere traceable in the roots of the Semitic—all or most of which were originally *bilateral*. The allusion of the name appears to be to the *goodness* of the water with which this region was so plentifully supplied. Adhbeh is exactly that “land of Nachals of water,” which Yotbah is described as being, in Deut. x. 7.

6. On quitting the pleasant station of Yotbah, the Israelites had to cross a chain of mountains which runs along the west side of the Gulf of Eylath to arrive at Etzyon-geber. This chain is traversed by a defile, called in Arabic the Nukb, or pass. The Hebrew 'Ebronah (mentioned in Numb. xxxiii. 34) has in this place the same meaning as the Arabic Nukb, and means the pass of the mountains. The station of the Israelite encampment was probably on the west side of the pass.

7. Etzyon-geber seems to have been situated at the northern extremity of the Gulf of Eylath. The city of Eylath itself was situated to the south-east of Etzyon-geber, and on the site of the modern Akaba. D'Anville has fallen into some singular errors as to the sites of these two cities. He transposes their relative situations, and grossly mistakes a passage in Dr. Shaw's travels. The site of Eylath can be securely identified with the modern castle of Akaba. The old grove of palm-trees from which Eylath took its name is now still existing at Akaba; and

the Hebrew קָדֵשׁ and the Syrian آيلان may be identified with the Roman Aila and Ælana, and these again with the Arabic أيلان. The identity of Aila and Akaba is clearly established by the Arabian geographers. The Arabic writers have converted the name of Etzyon-geber (*the back-bone of the giant*, with reference to the reefs surrounding the coast) into عصيون. The exact site of this city seems at present unknown. What is certain is that it must have been to the north-west of Eylath. D'Anville, and others who have adopted his opinion, have apparently been misled by the text (Deut. ii. 8), in which the two cities are mentioned in the inverse order in which they would have been approached by the Israelites. The Hebrew writers were careless of minute accuracy so long as the sense was intelligible; and Moses mentioned Eylath first, as being the more important of the two cities. With Etzyon-geber the list terminates; and it will now have been seen that all the ancient names between Kadesh and this city are still preserved with the most wonderful accuracy in the modern appellations. The following table will render these identifications still more clear by presenting them in one view.

ANCIENT NAMES.	MODERN NAMES.
1. Kadesh.	El-Khalesah.
2. Beeroth (the wells) of the Beney Ya'akin.	Birein (the wells).
3. Moserah.	Moserah.
4. The station at which Korah's rebellion occurred.	Wady el-Koréyah.
5. Gudhgodah.	Gudhaghidh.
6. Yotbah (the <i>good</i> water).	'Adhbah (the <i>good</i> water).
7. The Pass (in Hebrew 'Abrahah).	The Pass (in Arabic Nukb).
8. Etzyon-geber.	'Esoun.

Such is the list of stations in which every name identified confirms the identity of all the others. One case of apparent identity might merely be the effect of chance; but when several such cases occur, each in its proper place relatively to the others, the evidence increases in weight with each successive coincidence, and when they amount to as many as are accumulated in the preceding table, the spirit of idle cavilling may attack their testimony, as it would attack the Bible itself, but it will attack it in vain. The general accuracy of the route being once established, *it is certain that Kadesh must have been to the north of Birein*, and as the average distance between the stations is about twenty miles, we should seek for Kadesh at this distance from

Birein. This will lead us to the site of El-Khalesah. From this invaluable list we also derive the certainty that there is an omission in the list of stations in Numb. xxxiii 30; and that Kadesh ought to be inserted between Chasmonah and Moséroth.

IV. The journey from Kadesh to Etzyon-geber, it will be recollected, was the commencement of the thirty-eight years' penal wandering in the desert; and this brings us to ver. 35 in the list of stations in Numb. xxxiii. But the next station in ver. 36 is Kadesh again. This is the *last* visit to the city of Kadesh at the expiration of the thirty-eight years. The *first* visit to it is omitted from its proper place, either by accident or rabbinical fraud to cover a rabbinical imposture; and now, having arrived at Etzyon-geber, at the commencement of the penal journeyings, we have a sudden leap back to Kadesh, without a single station of the thirty-eight years being particularized further than those from Kadesh to Etzyon-geber. This journey could scarcely have occupied a month, so that the best part of the thirty-eight years appears a mere blank in the list of the stations. How are we to account for the omission? Have all the stations for thirty-seven years and upwards been really neglected by Moses, or omitted by the copyists of the Hebrew Pentateuch? We think not; it appears to us that all the principal stations, from the time when Israel quitted Rameses to their crossing the Arnon, are really included in the list of Numb. xxxiii. We are of opinion that the whole of the thirty-eight years' penal wandering was spent in continual gyrations round the border of Edom on the side of Amalek, and between the two cities of Kadesh and Etzyon-geber. The list, therefore, of the stations between these two cities is really the list of the thirty-eight years' wandering. This we infer from the commencement of the second chapter of Deuteronomy: "Then we turned," [from Kadesh, at the commencement of the *first* encampment near that city,] "and took our journey into the wilderness on the way to the Red Sea" [*i.e.*, the Gulf of Eylath] "as Jehovah spake unto me" [referring to the Divine command, Numb. xiv. 25]. "And we compassed Mount Se'yr many days." [Many days is a Hebraism, which may include any indefinite number of years. In one instance, it is used to describe a period of more than four centuries.] "And Jehovah spake unto me, saying, Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you northward." This was the final command to turn from Kadesh (on the last visit to that city) to the banks of the Arnon, and from thence to the east of the Jordan. The expression *northward* refers to the whole bearing of the route to be adopted; the first journeying of the people was necessarily

southward. The Hebrew original of the words, “and we compassed,” is סָבַב. The verb סָבַב signifies here *to march round, to make the circuit of.* The Israelites continually revolved round the borders of Edom; not the *whole* of the border, for that was impossible, unless they had entered Canaan and Moab; but that part which lay between the two cities of Etzyon-geber and Kadesh.

We can easily comprehend the reasons for these continued marches and countermarches. 1. The Israelites were kept continually in view of the Promised Land, which they probably approached at least once every year of the thirty-eight. 2. The Canaanites, observing them constantly occupied in journeys, apparently of a pastoral description, like the other Nomade nations, would gradually lose the fear which their first approach had probably excited, and neglect to combine, as, politically speaking, they would have been justified in doing, for the purpose of attacking them at advantage in the desert. 3. The route which they traversed was one especially frequented by caravans, from which they could procure, not only the spices and other articles which they needed for the observance of the ceremonial law, but also the admirably tempered arms of India, which the Cushite caravans brought to Canaan and the Phœnician cities on the coast. At the same time they could dispose to advantage of their spare cattle to the merchants of these caravans. In addition to these points, the fact that the thirty-eight years were spent in continual marches between Kadesh and Etzyon-geber, seems proved incontrovertibly by one most important argument. Unless we assume this to have been the case, the object of the last march to Kadesh is incomprehensible; take this for granted, and, like all the rest of the courses of the Exodus, it is plain and intelligible.

Suppose, according to the vulgar view of the matter, that the thirty-eight years were spent in wandering to and fro, in every direction, in the desert of the Tîh,—at the end of this period Moses marches a second time to Kadesh. We may naturally enquire, Why? It would be replied, To invade the Canaanites. Why then was this great object not carried into effect? On more mature consideration, it is replied, Moses deemed the attack on this side impracticable? Dean Milman^a explains the reason for this change of plan: “Many formidable difficulties opposed their penetrating into Canaan on this frontier. The country was mountainous, the hills crowned with strong forts, which, like Jerusalem, then Jebus, long defied their

^a *History of the Jews*, vol. i., p. 147.

arms, and were not finally subdued till the reign of David. It was not the most fruitful or inviting district of the land; part of it was the wild region where David afterwards maintained himself with his freebooting companions, when persecuted by Saul. The gigantic clan about Hebron would be almost the first to oppose them, and the Philistines, who occupied the coast, the most warlike of the tribes, might fall on their rear. They determined, therefore, to make a circuit; to pass round the Dead Sea, and, crossing the Jordan, proceed at once into the heart of the richest and least defensible part of the land."

But we may be permitted with deference to observe, that Moses, on his first visit to Kadesh, must have been acquainted with all these circumstances from the faithful report of Joshua and Caleb; and that, during the thirty-eight years' journeyings, he had had ample time to weigh the difficulties and mature his plan of operations. On his *last* visit, he discovered not a single circumstance with which he must not have been familiar in the *first*. We should therefore form a very humble opinion of his abilities, supposing these matters really to have been regulated by the prophet himself, as Dean Milman, following Bishop Warburton and other writers, assumes, if we could imagine that, after all the knowledge acquired from the first report of the spies, Moses could have again led the people to Kadesh, to dishearten them by a second retreat from the Promised Land, at the very moment when the second generation was prepared to cross the inimical border. Nor would the reasons alleged by the Dean have been of much validity, or have increased our opinion of the wisdom of Moses. The difficulties on the east of the Dead Sea and Jordan were far greater than those on the west. Instead of a number of disunited kings of petty cities, two powerful monarchs were ready, on the east of the Jordan, to await their attack. The territories between the Arnon and the Jabbok were ruled by a warlike sovereign, inured to victory, and the leader of a formidable army; and the kingdom of Bashan was apparently still wealthier, stronger, and more formidable. These two kingdoms, like the hilly region on the west of the Dead Sea, were inhabited by the Amorite race. They had also their giants (of whom king Og was a formidable specimen), and their country was hilly, like that of the kindred tribes on the north of Edom. As to the strong fortresses on the west of the Dead Sea, they could scarcely have been more formidable than the sixty cities of king Og, in Argob, fenced with high walls, gates and bars. With respect to the fertility of the land, the Amorite Highlands in the west of the Salt Sea must have been fertile enough, since the powerful tribe of Judah was perfectly

content with this province as its allotment, and it appears in fact to have been peculiarly rich in vineyards and olive grounds. After all, if they were to conquer the whole country, the greater or lesser fertility of the district which became the first point of attack was of very little importance.

But the whole argument appears to proceed upon a false supposition. If we give credit to Moses himself, as we must and ought to do, he had no more influence over the direction of the march which was adopted, than the meanest hewer of wood or drawer of water in the camp. Jehovah himself led the van of the army of Israel; He was the guide and conductor of the march,—

“Principium, rector, dux, semita, terminus idem,”

In the most positive, the most peremptory, the most unmistakeable terms, Moses assures us that *not even any deputed angel, but the Deity himself*, was the continual companion of their way,—the director of their march (Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3, 14, 15; and Deut. i. 32, 33). This statement is repeated in 2 Sam. vi. 7, and again by Isaiah in the lines which are thus translated by Lowth (Isa. lxiii. 9):—

“It was not an envoy, nor an angel of his presence that saved them;
Through his love and his indulgence, he himself redeemed them;
And he took them up, and he bare them, all the days of old.

[Compare Deut. i. 31.]

But they rebelled, and grieved his Holy Spirit,
So that he became their enemy, and fought against them.”

It is true that Milton, not one of the most orthodox of divines, forgetting the scorn with which he himself, on a remotely analogous question, repudiates “the common gloss of theologians,” endeavours to throw a different colouring on these great passages of sacred history.

“Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend;
Though *present in his angel*, who shall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire,
By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire,
To guide them in their journey, and remove
Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues.”—

Paradise Lost, book xii. 200—205.

And again,

“At length they came
Conducted by his angel, to the land
Promised to Abraham and his seed.”—*Ibid.*, 258—260.

It is true Moses (Exod. xiv. 19) speaks of the “angel of the

Lord ;” but this is an expression here and elsewhere used for Jehovah himself. In Exod. xxxiii. the question is expressly raised, whether Jehovah should accompany them himself, or send his angel before them. When the people heard “the evil tidings,” that, as a punishment for their idolatry at Horeb, a deputed angel and not the Deity himself should accompany them *for the rest of the march*, they mourned, and stripped themselves of their ornaments. At the earnest supplication of Moses, the assurance was given that Jehovah himself would continue to accompany them, as he had previously done; upon which Moses passionately exclaimed, “If thy presence go not with us, carry us not up hence.” The people of that age believed that no expedition could be safely undertaken by any nation except under the guidance, and protected by the presence, of its guardian deity. Hence it was that the Israelites considered as “evil tidings” the announcement that an angel should accompany them, but that Jehovah himself would not “go up in the midst of them.” On this fact the words of Isaiah are a comment, and it is impossible to desire one more clear and express. The difficulty which has puzzled theologians of the Miltonic school, and induced them to have recourse to the “glosses” at which Milton himself laughs, is, in truth, no difficulty at all. We may believe, as we have reason, that the Spirit of God pervades the whole universe; but this is not irreconcilable with the fact that a special and peculiar emanation of the Divine Spirit, in its absolute, perfect, and omnipotent divinity, and totally distinct from and unconnected with, the spirit of any angel or created being, really accompanied the chosen people for forty years in their journeyings.

But it may be objected, that if we look on God himself as the leader of the journeys of Israel, a new difficulty arises with respect to the march against the south of Canaan. Could the Deity (we propose the objection as a sceptic would make it), have led the chosen people against the Amorite land, with the avowed intention of invading Canaan from its southern border; and could he have afterwards found himself compelled to desist from his enterprise, lead them back into the desert, and await the growing up of a new generation of more formidable warriors? Certainly not. This objection, it will be observed, is equally applicable, whether we suppose God, *in his own person*, to have conducted the Israelites, or *as present in his angel*; but in either case it is equally invalid. From the first it never formed part of the scheme of Providence that the invasion of Canaan should commence from the southern border. The rebellion of Kadesh was foreseen by the prescient mind which directed them, and

also its utility in reconciling the people to the long and dreary wanderings in the desert, from the consciousness that these wanderings were the natural result of their own act, when they absolutely refused at Kadesh to proceed in the work of conquest. Then, assuming that all the penal journeyings in the desert were mere gyrations between Kadesh and Etzyon-geber, they would have visited Kadesh, in all probability, not one time only, but repeatedly, in the course of the thirty-eight years. On the *last* visit it occurred, as it would appear to the Israelites, *accidentally*, that the last male of the condemned generation died at Kadesh. This was the signal for the march to conquest. But the people had long before, as we may presume, been informed that the invasion of Canaan was now to be made from the *east* of the Jordan. This was a matter of little importance, if Edom and Moab would permit them to march through their territories. The application for permission was made to both, *and they both refused* (Numb. xx. 14—21; Judg. xi. 16—18).

The Israelites then found themselves at the very furthest point from the banks of the Arnon, which they had reached in their marches for thirty-eight years. The effect of this could not have been to discourage them; but to make them more eager for the approaching conquest. The dangers of their future battles with the Canaanites appeared trivial to the second race of the desert-bred, in comparison with the tediousness of their journeyings, and the privations of the road. With what eager courage they proceeded to the task of conquest after this hard training, is evident from the rapidity with which they conquered two great nations, routed large armies led by gigantic warriors and monarchs accustomed to victory, stormed their fortified cities, and extirpated the whole race of the Oriental Amorites—a people, according to the prophet, “tall as the cedar, strong as the oak.” We think, therefore, that our view of the thirty-eight years’ wandering is that which best accords with the Mosaic history, and the principles of construction most consonant with the teaching of orthodox Christianity.

CHAP. VI.—*Mount Hor and the final march to the Arnon.*

In the thirty-eighth year after the children of Israel had quitted Rameses, they visited Kadesh for the last time. On this visit, they encamped on the east of the city in the desert of Tzin. This desert was apparently less agreeable than that of Paran, and the people were exceedingly dissatisfied with the site of their encampment. “Wherefore” (they exclaim to Moses)

"have ye made us to come up out of Egypt into this evil place ? It is no place of seed, or of figs, or vines, or of pomegranates, neither is there any water to drink" (Numb. xx. 5). The want of water was again remedied by a miracle. There was a rock near the camp, as in the southern station of Rephidim, from whence Moses drew an abundant supply of water by striking it with his rod. The same name of Meribah was given to this miraculous spring as to that on the south of Horeb ; but to distinguish between the two, the northern spring was called Meribah-Kadesh. Here Miriam died and was buried ; and here died the last of the doomed race of the emancipated slaves of Pharaoh. This was the signal for their march to the Arnon ; and Moses now received the Divine command to prepare for the last of the journeys of Israel.

There was a well-known and frequented road from Kadesh to Moab, called the Derek ham-Melek, or royal road, the same possibly as the Roman road from Elusa to Moab, through the city of Thamaro, the Tamar of Ezekiel. To obtain permission to pass by this road, the Israelites despatched ambassadors to the king of Edom ; their request was peremptorily denied, and, according to the rules of human policy, the refusal was certainly a prudent one, and such as became the king of the wisest nation in the East. "Ye shall not pass through my land," said the king, "lest I come out against you with the sword." The renewed importunities of the ambassadors produced a new refusal ; and the only result of the embassy was, that the king of Edom came out to protect his frontier with a large army, or, as the sacred historian expresses it, "with much people and a strong hand." The Israelites of the second generation, a very different people from their fathers, would have attempted to force their passage with the edge of the sword (2 Chron. xx. 10), an attempt which, in all probability, if they had been left to their own human resources, would have ended in the destruction of their nation, so great is the natural strength of the fastnesses of Edom.

From this outrageous violation of all the laws of nations, they were diverted by the express command of God, which enjoined them, in the most peremptory terms, to respect the boundary of the kindred people. "Ye are to pass by the borders of your brethren, the children of Esau, which dwell in Se'yr, and they shall be afraid of you ;" [that is, they shall suspect you of the intention of invading and conquering their country ; for as to any *fear* on the part of Edom, it is quite evident there was none], "take good heed, therefore, that you meddle not with them, for I will not permit you to plant even the tread of

the sole of your feet on their land, for I have given Mount Se'yr unto Edom for a possession." In spite of this some modern writers make the Israelites *encamp in the capital city of Edom*, and bury their high priest within view of the rocks over the city. Such is the result, even in the nineteenth century after Christ, of the audacious imposture of the Jewish doctors of the traditional law! As long as this extravagant illusion maintains its influence, any rational account of the geography of the Exodus is perfectly impossible. Fortunately, after the proofs already given of the true route from Kadesh to Etzyon-geber, it is not likely that the old rabbinical imposture will have many adherents.

The boundaries of Edom extended as far south in the Eastern Mount Se'yr, as the northern side of a ravine called the Wady Ithm, not far from the cities of Eylath and Etzyon-geber. Once more, therefore, the children of Israel were compelled to retrace the old route, for the purpose of making a long detour by the south of Edom. When they arrived at Moserah, the second station, which we have identified with the Wady Moseriah, the divine command was announced to Aaron, that "he should be gathered to his people." In the immediate view of this encampment was the *true Mount Hor*, that mountain which Se'yr and his family had so called from the Mount Hor in Lebanon. It is a lofty, conical mountain, visible, at the distance of three days' journey, to the travellers who are going from Akaba to Hebron and Gaza. It stands at the very corner of the land of Edom, at the south-west angle of the Western Mount Se'yr, and answers exactly to the scriptural descriptions, עילְגָבֵל אֶרְזָאֲרֹם, on the boundary of the land of Edom, Numb. xx. 23; and בְּקַרְבָּה אֶרְזָאֲרֹם, at the edge of the land of Edom, Numb. xxxiii. 37.

Moses, Aaron, and Eliezer ascended Mount Hor, *in the sight of all the congregation*. The high priest was stripped of his sacerdotal garments, which were put on Eliezer his son; and Aaron died there on the top of the mountain. The encampment, from which the Israelites witnessed this scene, was in the territories of Amalek, not of Edom. Not a single Israelite set foot on a single clod of Edomite earth, except Moses, Aaron, and Eliezer, who were specially excepted from the general interdiction.

The modern name of Mount Hor, as we have before observed, is the Jebel Araif en-Nakah. The Wady Moseriah is within a few miles of its base; and, in Deut. x. 6, we are told that at Moserah Aaron died and was buried. When we examine the irresistible evidence in favour of the genuine Mount Hor, it

is difficult to avoid smiling at the rapture and enthusiasm which so many travellers have wasted on the Jebel Haroun, a mountain which could not, by any possibility, have been the Mount Hor of Moses, and whose adoption as such, if pursued through all its consequences, would be almost tantamount to a surrender of the Mosaic verity to the attacks of scepticism.

The remaining stations as far as Etzyon-geber, we have already particularized.

The crossing of the Wady Arabah *from west to east*, a little to the north of Etzyon-geber, and the passage through the Wady Ithm, are thus described by Moses: "And we passed away from our brethren the children of Esau, who dwelt in Se'yr, by the way of the 'Arabah near Eylath and near Etzyon-geber. Then we turned, and passed [northward] on the way to the wilderness of Moab."

After passing the defile of the Wady Ithm, the Israelites were on the *east* of the territories of Edom, and their way was now northward to the territories of Moab. The stations from hence to the Arnon were:—1. Tzalmonah; 2. Punon; 3. Oboth; 4. 'Iyey-'Abârim; and 5. The *nachal* (or brook) of Zered. The kingdom of Moab was, at this time, exceedingly small, certainly not exceeding fifty miles in length, by about twenty-five in breadth. Its northern boundary was the Arnon, the modern Wady el-Mojib; and we may suspect it extended at least as far south as El-Busaireh, which appears to be the Botzrah of Moab.

A considerable territory to the north of the Arnon had belonged to Moab, in the memory of people living at the time of the Exodus. This had been conquered by Sihon king of Heshbon, whose dominions now extended from the Arnon to the Jabbok. But the territory thus wrested from the kingdom of Moab still retained its ancient name of Moab; and thus, when the Israelites were encamped on the east of the Jordan, they were said to be מִן מוֹאָב מִצְרָיִם, in the plains of Moab, Numb. xxi. 1. This point is particularly deserving of attention.

Notwithstanding the diminution of its territory, Moab was still wealthy, populous, and warlike. Moses, after his invariable custom, sent ambassadors to the king of Moab, to ask his permission to pass through his land. This permission was refused by the king, as we learn from Jephthah, who could not be mistaken on a point so important. "Then they compassed the land of Moab, and came *by the east side* of the land of Moab, and pitched on the other side of the Arnon, *but came not within the border of Moab*; for Arnon was the border of Moab" (Judges xi. 18). Nothing can be more clear and positive than this. It agrees exactly with the Mosaic narrative, which de-

scribes the Israelites as encamping in the wilderness of Kedemoth, and sending ambassadors from thence to Sihon king of Heshbon. The wilderness of Kedemoth was that occupied by the Kedemah Ishmaelites. The kindred tribes of Jetur and Naphish were located to the east of the Ammonite territory, 1 Chron. v. 19.

Notwithstanding these clear indications to the contrary, Dean Milman and Dr. Kitto describe the Israelites as *passing through* the kingdom of Moab. "The Israelites," says the Dean, "passed without opposition through the district of Moab, till they reached that stream [the Arnon] now called the Modjeb."^b Dr. Kitto's account of the same mythic journey is worth quoting: "The Moabites, on their part, offered no opposition to the march of the Hebrews through their territory, though it may be suspected that it was less good will than fear which prevented their refusal; so the Israelites pursued their march to the banks of the Arnon."^c The gravity with which Dr. Kitto suggests the reasons for granting a permission which was never granted, is not a little amusing. It is quite clear that the march of the Israelites was round the east boundary of Moab. The brook Zered, on which they encamped, was probably in the wilderness of Kedemoth. It has been confounded with the Wady el-Ahsy, but was most likely a confluent of the Arnon. It is only in the *western* part of its course that the Arnon formed the boundary of Moab. The point at which the Israelites crossed this river was on the *east* of Moab; and immediately on crossing it, they found themselves in the hostile territory of the king of Heshbon. Here then the work of conquest commenced, and here we may close our account of the Exodus.

^b *History of the Jews*, vol. i., p. 149.

^c *History of Palestine*, p. 319.

A TABULAR VIEW OF THE STATIONS OF THE EXODUS.

FIRST LIST.	SECOND LIST.	THIRD LIST.	FOURTH LIST.	FIFTH LIST.
Journey from Ra'meses to Mount Sinai.	Journey from Mt. Sinai to Kadesh.	First journey from Kadesh to Et-zyongeber; and final return to Kadesh:—comprising the whole of the punitory wanderings of 38 years.	Last journey from Kadesh to Et-zyongeber;—being part of the final march to Canaan.	Journey from Et-zyongeber to the Arnon;—being the remaining part of the march to Canaan.
<p>1. Ra'meses. 2. Succoth. 3. Etham (at the edge of the Desert of Etham, or Shur.) 4. Between Migdol and the Gulf of Shur, with Ba'al Tze-phon on the north and Pi-ha-chiroth on the south. [Passage of the Red Sea.] 5. Encampment on the Amalekite side of the Gulf. 6. Two stations 7. [unnamed in the Desert of Shur, or Etham, in which there was no water. 8. Marah (where the water was bitter). 9. Eylim (where there were 12 fountains and 60 palm-trees). 10. Encampment on the shore of the Gulf. 11. The Desert of Sin. 12. Dophkah. 13. Alûsh. 14. Rephidim (at the foot of Mt. Horeb). 15. The Desert of Sinai, in front of that mountain.</p>	<p>1. The names of 2. [these two stations are not mentioned. See Numb. x. 33. 3. Tab'erah, or Kibroth hat-Ta'awah. 4. Chatzéroth. 5. Rithmah. 6. Rimmon-paretz 7. Libnah. 8. Rissah. 9. Kehélah. 10. Har Shapher. 11. Charadah. 12. Makheleth. 13. Tachath. 14. Tarach. 15. Mithkah. 16. Chashmonah. 17. KADEXH, on the west side of the city, in the Desert of Paran.</p>	<p>1. Beney Ya'akan [used elliptically for Beeroth Beney Ya'akan. In Num. xxxiii. 31, this station is, by the mistake of the copyists, transposed from its proper place, and inserted after Moséroth]. 2. Moséroth. 3. Chor hag-Gidh-gadh. 4. Yotbathah. 5. 'Ebronah. 6. ETZYON-GEBER. [The preceding journey formed part of the 38 years' penal wandering in the desert. In pp. 50—55, we have endeavoured to shew that the remainder of the wanderings of these 38 years consisted of repeated gyrations round the west and southwest borders of Edom, between the two cities of Kadesh and Etziongeber, and along the same line of stations as the above. In the course of these gyrations, just at the expiration of the 38 years, the Israelites found themselves at the city from whence their wanderings had commenced.] 7. KADEXH, on the east side of the city, in the Desert of Tzin.</p>	<p>1. Beéroth Beney Ya'akan [or, The wells of the sons of Ya'akan]. 2. Moserah. ("There Aaron died, and there he was buried," Deut. x. 6. Moserah therefore must have been the nearest station to MOUNT HOR. 3. Hag-Gudhgod-hah. 4. Yotbathah. 5. } Ebronah. 6. } ETZYON-GEBER. Omitted in the list in Deut. x. [It is not certain that on this journey they actually encamped at Etziongeber: they crossed the Arabah from west to east, a little to the north of Etziongeber and Eylath, passed thro' the Wady Ithm, and then entered the great Desert of Arabia. The remaining stations (in the next list) are in the Arabian Desert, to the east of Edom and Moab.]</p>	
AUTHORITIES. Numb. xxxiii. 5—15, compared with the historical chapters, Exodus xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., xvii., xix.	AUTHORITIES. Numb. xxxiii. 16—29, compared with the four historical chapters, Numb. x., xi., xii., and xiii. For the proofs that the name of Kadesh is omitted in its proper place, Numb. xxxiii. 30, see the accompanying Essay, p. 38.	AUTHORITIES. Numb. xxxiii. 30—36, compared with the historical chapter, Numb. xiv. 25.	AUTHORITIES. Deut. x. 6 and 7. The paragraph, Numb. xxxiii. 37—40, also relates to the same journey; but the only station particularized, in the last cited paragraph, is Mount Hor. All the other stations are omitted. That both the two passages cited above refer to the same journey, is evident from their both mentioning the death of Aaron, which occurred on this journey. See also the historical chapters, Numbers xx. 22—29, and xxi. 1—4.	AUTHORITIES. Numb. xxxiii. 41—44, compared with the historical chapter, Numb. xxi. 10—13.

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